

## MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY

---

VOL. VII

SEPTEMBER 1881

No. 3

---

### THE MASSACRE AT FORT GRISWOLD

SEPTEMBER 6TH, 1781

THERE were several elements in the capture by assault of Fort Griswold at noon on the 6th of September, 1781, which combine to make it one of the most thrilling and tragic incidents in the war of the Revolution.

The theatre of the tragedy was the summit of a lofty hill; the actors were a little handful of embattled farmers on the one side, and on the other two of the best equipped, best disciplined regiments in a service that prided itself on its discipline and efficiency. A populous community was the audience, and the accessories were peaceful fields, laden with golden harvests, a smiling bay, and a pillaged, ravished city in flames. The centennial anniversary of this event is soon to be celebrated. Multitudes will assemble, civic dignitaries will be present, military display will add its pomp and circumstance to enhance the importance of the occasion. There seems to be a fitness then in recounting the heroic deeds of those who suffered in the massacre, chiefly in the simple, graphic language of the participants in it. The summer of 1781 closed with the brightest prospects for the Continental cause. Cornwallis at Yorktown, closely besieged in front by Lafayette, in the rear by Count de Grasse, with Washington but a few days' march distant, was already in the Continental grasp, his commander, Sir Henry Clinton, being left in New York by Washington's superior generalship, too far distant to render material assistance. In his dilemma Clinton determined on a feint, in the hope of recalling Washington from the south, and chose New London as the scene of his *ruse de guerre*. This town had sent out the most active and daring privateers that ever snatched a convoy from under the guns of a British frigate. Several rich prizes were then lying at its wharves, and its storehouses were filled with West India goods, provisions and military stores. Further, it would

be a convenient base for certain predatory excursions into New England, which it is probable Clinton had long meditated, but, most important of all, it was within a day's march of Lebanon, the quiet country town where dwelt Governor Jonathan Trumbull—Washington's "Brother Jonathan,"—and which contained the little store and counting-house, which had long been recognized as the real "war office" of the Continental Government, and the chief source of supplies for its army; and no doubt the hope of disturbing "Mr. Trumbull" in his operations, and of ravaging the rich agricultural region near him, from which he drew his supplies, was one of the motives of the expedition.

Clinton having decided on the locality for the blow, proceeded to put his designs in execution. Thirty-two transports and sloops-of-war were got ready, and placed under the command of Captain Brazeley of the frigate *Amphion*. The troops detailed for the expedition were the Thirty-eighth, Fortieth and Fifty-fourth Regiments of the regular army; the regiment of Loyal Americans, under Colonel Beverley Robinson; the American Legion Refugees, and a detachment of Yagers and artillery, comprising in all some two thousand men. To command this armament, Clinton selected Benedict Arnold, who was born and reared in Norwich, but thirteen miles distant from the doomed town, and whose knowledge of its approaches, as well as his native ferocity of character, marked him as a fit instrument for the leadership. Arnold had but just returned from the congenial employment of ravaging the Virginia coasts, and undertook the commission with alacrity. On the 4th of September, 1781, the expedition, thus organized and commanded, embarked on transports, and, led by the *Amphion* and sloops-of-war, proceeded up Long Island Sound towards its destination. At 2 o'clock in the afternoon of the 5th the fleet came to anchor in Gardiner's Bay, on the Long Island coast, nearly opposite New London, and about thirty miles distant. Here it lay until 7 o'clock in the evening, when it set sail for the harbor, taking advantage of the southwest breeze, which in the afternoon, through the summer and autumn months, blows with the regularity of the trade-wind. This breeze Arnold calculated would place his fleet before the town by two o'clock in the morning, when a bold stroke might capture it. But nature refused her aid; the wind died away a few hours after he set sail, and at dawn the watchers in Fort Griswold discovered his fleet in the Sound, at some distance, bearing down upon the town. Orderly Sergeant Rufus Avery had charge of the garrison in Fort Griswold on this eventful night. At three in the morning

he discovered the hostile fleet beating into the harbor, thirty-two in number—"ships, brigs, schooners and sloops"—and immediately communicated the startling news to Colonel William Ledyard, Commander-in-Chief of the harbor defences. This brave officer had ample cause for concern. The handful of militia and continentals under his command scarcely exceeded one hundred and fifty men, and although there were several companies of raw levies within signaling distance, they could be little depended on in a contest with regular troops; nor were the defences of the town such as its importance would seem to have demanded. On the New London side, near the entrance to the harbor, was a breastwork or water battery, open behind, and untenable if attacked from the rear. This, called Fort Trumbull, in honor of the Governor of the State, occupied the site of the present fort of the same name.

Directly across the Thames from this battery, on the summit of Groton Hill, was Fort Griswold, a battery of considerable strength, and which, had it been properly manned, might have given a far different turn to the events of the day. There remains no more complete relic of the Revolutionary struggle than the grassy ramparts of this fort. The pickets, platforms and barracks are dust, but the ramparts are as perfect as when left by the hand of the builders. The tourist, who inspects these solid walls, can but admire the skill and judgment of the farmer engineers who constructed them. The hill which they crown rises steeply from the water's edge to a height of several hundred feet, and commands the harbor and the city on the opposite shore, a mile away. The central area of the fort is nearly square, being 150 feet in length by 110 in width. The walls are of stone, ten or twelve feet in height, and sodded. On the wall was a row of pickets, projecting over twelve feet, and above these was built a parapet with embrasures for guns, and within, a platform for cannon. The entrance, twelve feet wide, was in the northern wall, and protected by a gate and a triangular battery, one hundred and twenty yards distant, on which was mounted a three-pounder. Bastions at each corner enfiladed the walls, and a ditch, thirty feet wide and seven feet deep, surrounded the fort except on the southwest, where a ledge of rock formed a natural wall. Half way down the hill-slope, towards the river, was a small battery, communicating by a covered way with the fort, but which was of no service at all except in case of a water attack. On the summit of Tower Hill, in the rear of the City of New London, a small earthwork, which, from its utter uselessness as a means of defense, was called in vulgar parlance "Fort Nonsense," completed the defenses of the city.

From the reports of Captain Lemoine and Lieutenant Horndon, of the Royal Artillery, it appears that Fort Trumbull was mounted with twelve iron 18-pounders, and three 6-pounders; and Fort Nonsense with six 12 or 9-pounders, while Fort Griswold was provided with thirty-five guns—as enumerated by Captain Lemoine—one 18-pounder, two 9-pounders, fifteen 12s, one 6, one 3, three 4s, and on travelling carriages, three 4-pounders, four 6s, and two 12-pounders. The fort also contained 80 pikes and 106 French muskets.

Despite his meagre resources, however. Col. Ledyard at once began his dispositions for defence. Signal guns were fired announcing the enemy's approach, and expresses sent to the Captains of the different militia companies ordering them to hasten to the defense of the forts. None responded, however, and after waiting five hours, Col. Ledyard shut himself up with one hundred and thirty men in Fort Griswold, leaving to Captain Adam Shapley and his company of twenty-three artillerymen the defence of Fort Trumbull. At ten the enemy began landing his troops. Arnold landed his force in two divisions, one on the New London and the other on the Groton side. The first, under his own command, comprised the 38th regiment, the Loyal Americans, the American Legion Refugees, and a detachment of sixty Yagers or German riflemen. The second, under Lieut.-Colonel Eyre, consisting of the 40th and 54th regiments, the third battalion of New Jersey (Loyal) Volunteers, and a detachment of Yagers and artillery, was intended for the assault of Fort Griswold.

I shall first follow the fortunes of Arnold's column. The spot where it landed is still pointed out to the tourist, near the lighthouse, about three miles below the city. On landing, Arnold immediately put his column in motion, and when nearly opposite Fort Trumbull, detached Captain Millet with four companies of the 38th regiment to carry the fort. Sturdy Captain Shapley, who commanded the fort, seeing himself likely to be overpowered, spiked his guns, and with his twenty-three men embarked in boats and pulled for the Groton shore, not so quickly, however, but that several of his men were wounded before getting out of the enemy's range. Arnold, in the meantime, with the rest of the column, marched along the main road leading to the village to the westward of Fort Trumbull, and pausing but a moment to capture Fort Nonsense, near his line of march, was in a few moments in undisputed possession of the town.

Between the sea and the foot of the headlands or series of hills on which New London is chiefly built, is a level plateau, now known as



Water Street, then called the Beach, which was the business portion of the city. Here were the docks, shipping, warehouses, stores and offices of the merchants; the warehouses filled with West India goods, rich cargoes of captured vessels, and provisions and munitions of war stored here by the patriotic Trumbull. This point was first occupied by the enemy, who applied the torch in a dozen different places at once, so that in a few moments the whole vast accumulation of property was a mass of flame. Not satisfied with this, the troops scattered in small bands along the mill-cove and the hill-sides, where were many pleasant, even elegant, private residences, and enacted much the same scenes of burning and rapine as had been witnessed at Fairfield and West Haven, two years before.

Arnold, however, was not with the pillagers. Accompanied by a small detachment, he had swept through the shaded village streets and gained the summit of the hill in the rear of the town. By the old churchyard he paused to cast an anxious eye over toward the Groton heights, where, grim and defiant, Ledyard and his band of martyrs stood awaiting the onset of the foe. To gain a better view, it is said, Arnold stood upon the tomb of Governor Winthrop, near the northern wall. Perhaps there is no more dramatic figure in American history than Arnold presented at this moment.

From this position, Arnold with a field-glass could study critically the earthwork on the Groton Heights, which he had ordered Colonel Eyre to assault, and discovered at once that it was far stronger and contained a much larger garrison than his Tory advisers had described. In his report of the battle he says that he at once dispatched an aid to Colonel Eyre, countermanding the order of assault; but if so, the messenger arrived too late. At this time, however, Eyre had not led his regulars to the assault of the fort. He had landed without opposition at Groton Point, three miles from the fort, and marched his column to a thick wood, about a mile southeast, where he halted for an hour. At 10 o'clock he sent a flag of truce, demanding the instant surrender of the fort. Forty rods from the walls it was halted by a musket ball fired before it, and Captains Elijah Avery, Amos Stanton and John Williams were sent out to receive the message. Before returning an answer, Colonel Ledyard called a council of his officers. He was a resolute man. "If I must lose to-day honor or life," he had remarked as he stepped into the boat which conveyed him from New London to the fort that morning, "you who know me well can tell which it will be." Many others had come with a like resolve. There was Captain William

Latham, who had seen service at Bunker Hill; Captain Adam Shapley, a bold privateersman and an excellent gunner; Captain Amos Stanton, a man of herculean frame and of indomitable spirit; and there were the Allyns, the Averys, Williams, Burrows, Moore, Perkins, Lewis, Ward, Chapman, Halsey, and scores of other names that one may read on the lofty granite pillar erected to their memory, hard by the scene of their exploits. Colonel Ledyard could muster one hundred and fifty men in the fort; the attacking party numbered eight hundred. Surely there could have been no dishonor in yielding with such odds against them; but not a man in the deliberating council was found to advocate this course, and the answer was returned "that the fort would not be given up to the British." Eyre immediately sent a second message, declaring "that if he was obliged to take the fort by storm, he should put martial law in full force; that is, what we do not kill by ball shall be put to death by sword and bayonet." "We shall not give up the fort," said Ledyard in reply, "let the consequences be what they may." Eyre then divided his troops into two divisions for the assault, taking command of the first himself, and entrusting the second to Major Montgomery of the Fortieth Regiment. Colonel Eyre formed his column behind the ledge of rocks, which now forms the eastern boundary of the Ledyard cemetery, about one hundred and fifty rods southeast of the fort. Major Montgomery's column was formed in the rear of a hillock, a short distance from this point. At the word of command the battalions sprang gallantly forward and up the hill, Eyre leading his column toward the southwest bastion, where, from the falling away of the ground, there was no ditch, while Montgomery advanced farther toward the north, where was the redoubt with its main entrance to the fort. Captain Elias Halsey, an old privateersman, who had smelt powder in the French and Indian wars, stood on the ramparts by his eighteen-pounder, loaded with grape and canister, as the British advanced, and when they were but a few yards distant discharged it into their ranks. This discharge made a fearful rent in the column, and laid twenty men, dead and wounded, on the ground. The solid mass, broken by this loss of men and officers, wavered for a moment, then broke into squads and dashed up under the very walls of the fort. Montgomery was equally prompt, and at the same moment his division struck the northeast bastion, thus investing the fort on all four sides at once.

A terrible struggle ensues. The ditch is full of infuriated men, shouting, cursing, tearing away the pickets, seeking to force an entrance

through the embrasures of the guns. The besieged are not idle; the nine-pounders on the bastions, enfilading the ditch, are discharged into the struggling mass with terrible effect; round-shot and other available missiles are thrown from the ramparts; boarding pikes are thrust through the embrasures to repel the invader. First-Sergeant Stephen Hempstead is in command of an eighteen-pounder on the south side of the gate, and while in the act of sighting his piece a ball passes through the embrasure, strikes him a little above the right ear, grazes the skull, and cuts off some of the veins, which bleed profusely. A handkerchief is tied about the wound, and he continues at his duty. At the southwest bastion, which bears the brunt of several fierce assaults, Captains Shapley and Richards, with Lieutenant Chapman and a score of other brave spirits, gallantly withstand the assault. At the moment of surrounding the fort the enemy had "marched at a quickstep" into the little battery, of which we have spoken as protecting the main entrance; but here the garrison sent such heavy and repeated discharges of grape into their ranks that they broke into platoons and made a dash for the walls; at the same time a soldier attempted to open the gates, but was shot down in an instant. Forty minutes of fierce fighting followed. Colonel Eyre was mortally wounded; Montgomery was killed at the bastion by a pike in the hands of Jordan Freeman, a gigantic negro slave. Twice the enemy had been driven back, when, at the critical moment of the second repulse, a shot cut the halyards and brought down the flag. This the enemy regarded as a token of submission, and returned to the attack. The sequel Sergeant Avery gives so graphically and concisely that I adopt his narrative literally.

"Now I saw the enemy mount the parapets all at once seemingly. They swung their hats around and discharged their guns into the fort; then those who had not fallen by ball they began to massacre with sword and bayonet. I was on the west side of the fort with Captain Edward Latham and Mr. C. Latham, standing on the platform, and had a full view of the enemy's conduct. I had then a hole through my clothes by a ball, and a bayonet went through my coat to my flesh. The enemy approached us, knocked down the two men I mentioned with the britch of their guns, and I expected had ended their lives, but did not. By this time that division which had been commanded by Montgomery, now under charge of Bloomfield, unbolted the gates, marched into the fort and formed in solid column. I at this moment left my station and went across the parade towards the south end of the barracks. I noticed Colonel William Ledyard on the parade, stepping towards the enemy and Bloomfield, gently raising and lowering his sword as a token of submission. He was about six feet from them when I turned my eyes off from him and went up to the door of the barracks and looked at the enemy, who were discharging their guns through the windows. It was but a moment that I had turned my eyes from Colonel Ledyard and saw him alive, and now I saw him weltering in his gore. \* \* \* We are informed that the wretch who murdered him exclaimed, as he drew near, 'Who commands this fort?' Ledyard handsomely replied, 'I did, but

you do now,' at the same moment handing him his sword, which the unfeeling villain buried in his breast. The column continued marching toward the south end of the parade, and I could do no better than to go across the parade before them amid their fire. They discharged three platoons as I crossed before them at this time. I believe there were not less than five or six hundred of the British on the parade and in the fort. They killed and wounded every man they possibly could, and it was all done in less than two minutes. I had nothing to expect but to drop with the rest. One mad-looking fellow put his bayonet to my side, swearing that 'by Jesus he would skipper me.' I looked him earnestly in the face and eyes, and begged him to have mercy and spare my life. I must say I believe God prevented him from killing me, for he put his bayonet three times into me, and I seemed to be in his power as well as Lieutenant Enoch Stanton, who was stabbed to the heart and fell at my feet at this time. I think no scene ever exceeded this for continued and barbarous massacre after surrender. There were two large doors to the magazine which made a space wide enough to admit ten men to stand in one rank. There marched up a platoon of ten men just by where I stood and at once discharged their guns into the magazine among our killed and wounded, and also among those who had escaped uninjured; and as soon as these had fired, another platoon was ready, and immediately took their place when they fell back. At this moment Bloomfield came swiftly around the corner of the building, and raising his sword with exceeding quickness, exclaimed, 'stop firing or you will send us all to hell together.' I was very near him when he spoke. He knew there must be much powder deposited in and scattered about the magazine, and if they continued throwing in fire, we should all be blown up. I think it must before this have been the case had not the ground and everything been wet with human blood. We trod in blood. We trampled under foot the limbs of our countrymen, our neighbors and dear kindred. Our ears were filled with the groans of the dying, when the more stunning sound of the artillery would give place to the death-shrieks. After this they ceased killing and went to stripping, not only the dead, but the wounded and those who were wounded so bad as not to go off of themselves. Mr. Samuel Edcomb, Jr., and myself were ordered to carry out Ensign Charles Eldridge, who was shot through the knee joints; he was a very large, heavy man, and with our fasting and violent exercise of the day, we were but ill able to do it, or more than to sustain our own weight; but we had to submit. We, with all the prisoners, were taken out upon the parade and ordered to sit down immediately, or they would put their bayonets into us. The battle was now ended. It was about 1 o'clock in the afternoon, and since the hour of eight in the morning, what a scene of carnage, of anxiety and of loss had we experienced. The enemy now began to take care of their dead and wounded. They took off six of the outer doors of the barracks, and with four men at each door, they brought in one man at a time. There were twenty-four men thus employed for two hours as fast as they could walk. They deposited them on the west side of the parade, in the fort, where it was the most comfortable place, and screened from the hot sun which was pouring down upon us, aggravating our wounds, and causing many to faint and die who might have lived with good care. Side by side lay two most worthy and excellent officers, Captain Youngs Ledyard and Captain N. Moore, in the agonies of death. Their heads rested on my thighs as I sat or lay there. They had their reason well and spoke. They asked for water. I could give them none, as I was to be thrust through if I got up. I asked the enemy who were passing by us to give me some water for my dying friends and myself; as the well was near, they granted this request; but even then I feared they would put something poisonous into it that they might get us out of the way the sooner; and they had said repeatedly that the last of us should die before the sun set. \* \* \* But I must think they became tired of human butchery, and so let us live. They kept us on the ground the garrison charged, till about two hours had been spent taking care of their men, and then ordered every man of us that could walk 'to rise up.' Sentries were placed around with guns loaded and bayonets fixed, and orders given that every one who would not in a moment obey commands should be shot dead or run through. I had to leave the two dying men who were resting on me, dropping their heads on the cold and hard ground, giving them one last and pitying look. Oh God, this was hard work!

they both died that night. We marched down to the bank of the river so as to be ready to embark on the British vessels. There were about thirty of us surrounded by sentries. Captain Bloomfield then came and took down the names of the prisoners who were able to march down with us. Where I sat I had a fair view of the enemy's movements. They were setting fire to the buildings and bringing the plunder and laying it down near us. The sun was about half an hour high. I can never forget the whole appearance of all about me. New London was in flames. The inhabitants deserted their habitations to save life, which was more highly prized. Above and around us were our unburied dead and our dying friends. None to appeal to for sustenance in our exhausted state but a maddened enemy—not allowed to move a step or make any resistance but with loss of life—and sitting to see the property of our neighbors consumed by fire or the spoils of a triumphant enemy."

Sergeant Avery, it will be remembered, was forced to leave his more severely wounded comrades in the fort to the tender mercies of the enemy.

"These were soon gathered up and loaded into the large ammunition wagon that belonged to the fort, which twenty men then drew to the brow of the hill leading down to the river. The declivity is very steep for the distance of thirty rods to the river. As soon as the wagon began to move down the hill it pressed so hard against them that they found they were unable to hold it back, and jumped away as quick as possible, leaving it to thrash along down the hill with great speed till the shafts struck a large apple-tree stump with a most violent crash, hurling the poor dying and wounded men in a most inhuman manner. Some of the wounded fell out and fainted away; then a part of the company where I sat ran and brought the men and wagon along."

The above is Mr. Avery's account. Sergeant Stephen Hempstead, who was one of the wounded men in the wagon, in his published statement gives a slightly different version of the barbarous act. He says:

"Those that could stand were then paraded and ordered to the landing, while those that could not (of which number I was one), were put in one of our ammunition wagons and taken to the brow of the hill (which was very steep and at least one hundred rods in descent), from whence it was permitted to run down by itself, but was arrested in its course near the river by an apple tree. The pain and anguish we all endured in this rapid descent, as the wagon jumped and jostled over rocks and holes, is inconceivable; and the jar in its arrest was like bursting the cords of life asunder, and caused us to shriek with almost supernatural force. Our cries were distinctly heard and noticed on the opposite side of the river (which is a mile wide) amidst all the confusion which raged in burning and sacking the town. We remained in the wagon more than an hour before our humane conquerors hunted us up, when we were again paraded and laid on the beach preparatory to embarkation; but by the interposition of Ebenezer Ledyard, brother to Colonel Ledyard, who humanely represented our deplorable situation, and the impossibility of our being able to reach New York, thirty-five of us were paroled in the usual form. Being near the house of Ebenezer Avery, who was also one of our number, we were taken into it. Here we had not long remained before a marauding party set fire to every room, evidently intending to burn us up with the house. The party soon left it, when it was with difficulty extinguished, and we were thus saved from the flames. Ebenezer Ledyard again interfered and obtained a sentinel to remain and guard us until the last of the enemy embarked—about 11 o'clock at night. None of our own people came near us till near daylight the next morning, not knowing previous to that time that the enemy had departed. Such a night of distress and anguish was scarcely ever passed by mortal. Thirty-five of us were lying on the bare floor, stiff, mangled, and wounded in every manner, exhausted with pain,



fatigue, and loss of blood, without clothes or anything to cover us, trembling with cold and spasms of extreme anguish, without fire or light, parched with excruciating thirst, not a wound dressed, nor a soul to administer to one of our wants, nor an assisting hand to turn us during these long, tedious hours of the night. Nothing but groans and unavailing sighs were heard, and two of our number did not live to see the light of the morning, which brought with it some ministering angels to our relief. The first was in the person of Miss Fanny Ledyard, of Southold, L. I., then on a visit to her uncle, our murdered Commander, who held to my lips a cup of warm chocolate, and soon after returned with wine and other refreshments which revived us a little. \* \* \* The cruelty of the enemy cannot be conceived, and our renegade countrymen surpassed in this respect, if possible, our British foes. We were at least an hour after the battle within a few steps of a pump in the garrison well supplied with water, and although we were suffering with thirst, they would not permit us to take one drop of it, nor give us any themselves. Some of our number who were not disabled from going to the pump, were repulsed with the bayonet; and not one drop did I taste after the action commenced, although begging for it after I was wounded, of all who came near me, until relieved by Miss Ledyard. We were a horrible sight at this time. Our own friends did not know us; even my own wife came in the room in search of me and did not recognize me, and as I did not see her she left the room to search for me among the slain, who had been collected under a large elm tree near the house. It was with the utmost difficulty that many of them could be identified, and we were frequently called upon to assist their friends in distinguishing them by remembering particular wounds, &c.

Being myself taken out by two men for this purpose, I met my wife and brother, who, after my wounds were dressed by Dr. Downer, from Preston, took me—not to my own house, for that was in ashes, as also every article of my property, furniture and clothing—but to my brother's, where I lay eleven months as helpless as a child, and to this day feel the effects of it severely."

"Such" (concludes the worthy sergeant) "was the battle of Groton Heights, and such, as far as my imperfect manner and language can describe, a part of the sufferings which we endured. Never for a moment have I regretted the share I had in it. I would for an equal degree of honor, and the prosperity which has resulted to my country from the Revolution, be willing, if possible, to suffer it again."

Arnold having burned and plundered the town of New London, captured the forts and massacred the garrisons, quickly collected his forces and re-embarked, hastened in his departure, no doubt, by a wholesome fear of the militia, which was rapidly gathering. His own wounded were first carefully rowed on board the ships, and then came the turn of the weak and wounded prisoners. I quote again from Avery's narrative:

"Now the boats had come for us who could go on board the fleet. The officer spoke with a doleful and menacing tone; 'Come, you rebels, go on board!' This was a consummation of all I had seen and endured through the day. This wounded my feelings in a thrilling manner. . . . When we, the prisoners, went down to the shore to the boats, they would not bring them near, but kept them off where the water was knee deep to us, obliging us, weak and worn as we were, to wade to them. We were marched down in two ranks, one on each side of the boat. The officer spoke very harshly to us to 'get aboard immediately.' They rowed us down to an armed sloop, commanded by one Captain Thomas, as they called him, a refugee tory, and he lay with his vessel within the fleet. As soon as we were on board, they hurried us down into the hold of the sloop, where were their fires for cooking, and besides being very hot, it was filled with smoke. The hatchway was closed tight, so that we were near suffocating for want of air to breathe. We begged them to spare our lives, so they gave us some relief by opening the hatchway, and permitting us

to come on deck by two or three at a time, but not without sentries watching us with gun and bayonet. We were now extremely exhausted and faint for want of food, when, after being on board twenty-four hours, they gave us a mess of *hog's brains*—the hogs which they took on Groton banks when they plundered there. After being on board Thomas' sloop nearly three days with nothing to eat or drink that we could swallow, we began to feel as if a struggle must be made in some way to prolong our existence. . . . In the room where we were confined were a great many weapons of war, and some of the prisoners whispered that we might make a prize of the sloop. This in some way was overheard and got to the officers' ears, and now we were immediately put in a stronger place in the hold of the vessel, and they appeared so enraged that I was almost sure we should share a decisive fate, or suffer severely. Soon they commenced calling us, one by one, on deck. As I went up they seized me, tied my hands behind me with a strong rope-yarn, and drew it so tight that my shoulder bones cracked and almost touched each other. Then a boat came from a fourteen-gun brig, commanded by one Steele. Into this boat I was ordered to get, without the use of my hands, over the sloop's bulwarks, which were all of three feet high, and then from there I had to fall or throw myself into the boat. My distress of body and agitated feelings I cannot describe. They made us all lie down under the seats on which the men sat to row, and so we were conveyed to the brig. Going on board, we were ordered to stand in one rank by the gunwale, and in front of us was placed a spar, within about a foot of each man. Here we stood, with a sentry to each of us, having orders to shoot or bayonet us if we attempted to stir out of our place. All this time we had nothing to eat or drink, and it rained and was very cold. We were detained in this position about two hours, when we had liberty to go about the main-deck. Night approached, and we had no supper, nor anything to lie upon but the wet deck. We were on board this brig about four days, and then were removed on board a ship, commanded by Captain Scott, who was very kind to the prisoners."

Arnold having embarked his forces, crossed the Sound and anchored his fleet under the lee of Plum Island on the Long Island shore, and the next morning proceeded on his way to New York. While at Plum Island he drew up his report to Sir Henry Clinton. One looks through this document in vain for any justification of his wanton destruction of life and property, or for an announcement of any substantial results of the victory. Eighty men were then lying dead in Fort Griswold, massacred by his troops, but this little episode he evidently deemed of too little importance to mention. He ascribes the destruction of private property (in New London, 65 houses, containing 97 families, 18 shops, 20 barns and 9 public buildings; in Groton, 1 school-house, 4 barns, 2 shops and 12 dwelling houses) to "the explosion of powder, and a change of wind soon after the stores were fired," which "communicated the flames to that part of the town, which was, notwithstanding every effort to prevent it, unfortunately destroyed." This denial goes for little, however, in face of the fact that in many instances houses situated at a great distance from any stores, and containing nothing but household furniture, were set on fire in spite of the earnest cries and entreaties of the women and children in them. The Connecticut Gazette for September 21, 1781, reported: "Indeed, two houses

were bought off for ten pounds each, after an officer, who appeared to be a captain, had ordered them fired, which was the sum proposed by the officer, upon condition, however, that he should not be made known."

Arnold's report gives us some interesting particulars of the British loss in the attack. Colonel Eyre, a brave officer and a favorite of Clinton, was fatally wounded, and died on board the fleet. Major Montgomery, one captain, one lieutenant, two ensigns, two sergeants and forty-four rank and file were killed, and two captains, one lieutenant, two ensigns, eight sergeants, two drummers and one hundred and twenty-seven rank and file wounded. As an offset to this loss, no military result of value was attained.

Washington was not in the least disconcerted in his movements by the feat, and the only thing of moment accomplished by it seems to have been the destruction of the military stores and the eight or ten vessels that were unable to slip their cables and retreat up the Thames before the marauder struck them, and these could be very easily replaced.

I have before spoken of the nearly perfect condition of the earth-work, about which the stirring events above described took place. Next in interest to the relic itself are the graves of its brave defenders, nearly all of whom lie within a radius of a mile or two of the scene of their death. Colonel Ledyard lies buried in the Groton cemetery which now bears his name, and which lies about four hundred and fifty yards southeast from the fort, in the rough formation known as the Amasa Packer's Rocks. His original tomb-stone was a slab of blue slate, which in 1854 was found to be so nearly destroyed by relic-hunters that Connecticut appropriated fifteen hundred dollars for the erection of a suitable memorial. The present monument was erected in accordance with that act. It consists of a base and shaft enclosed by an iron railing, with posts cast in the form of cannon. On the west face of the shaft an unsheathed sabre in an inverted position is carved in relief. Across the cap of the base the word Ledyard in raised letters, and on the die beneath the following inscription:

SONS OF CONNECTICUT  
BEHOLD THIS MONUMENT AND LEARN TO EMULATE  
THE VIRTUE, VALOR, AND PATRIOTISM  
OF YOUR ANCESTORS

On the south face the die is inscribed:

ERECTED IN 1854  
BY THE STATE OF CONNECTICUT IN REMEMBRANCE OF THE  
PAINFUL EVENTS THAT TOOK PLACE IN THIS NEIGHBORHOOD  
DURING THE WAR OF THE REVOLUTION.

IT COMMEMORATES THE BURNING OF NEW LONDON  
THE STORMING OF GROTON FORT, THE MASSACRE OF  
THE GARRISON, & THE SLAUGHTER OF LEDYARD, THE  
BRAVE COMMANDER OF THESE POSTS, WHO WAS  
SLAIN BY THE CONQUEROR WITH HIS OWN SWORD.

—o—  
He fell in the service of his country  
Fearless of death and prepared to die.

On the north face is inscribed :

COPY OF THE INSCRIPTION ON THE HEADSTONE ORIGINALLY ERECTED OVER THE  
GRAVE OF COL. LEDYARD.

Sacred to the Memory of WILLIAM LEDYARD, Esq.  
Col: Commandant of the garrisoned post of New London  
& Groton who after a gallant defence was with a part of  
the brave garrison, inhumanly Massacred by British troops  
in Fort Griswold Sep. 6, 1781, ætatis suæ 43.

By a judicious and faithful discharge of the various duties  
of his station, he rendered most essential service to his  
Country : and stood confessed the unshaken Patriot and  
intrepid Hero : He lived the Pattern of Magnanimity :  
Courtesy : and Humanity : He fell the victim of  
ungenerous rage and cruelty.

In 1830 the State of Connecticut set up a monumental shaft on  
Groton Heights, the scene of the conflict, which bears the following  
inscription upon a slab set into its base :

THIS MONUMENT

WAS ERECTED UNDER THE PATRONAGE OF THE STATE OF CONNECTICUT, A. D. 1830  
AND IN THE 55TH YEAR OF THE INDEPENDENCE OF THE U. S. A.

IN MEMORY OF THE BRAVE PATRIOTS

WHO FELL IN THE MASSACRE AT FORT GRISWOLD NEAR THIS SPOT  
ON THE 6TH OF SEPTEMBER, A. D. 1781

WHEN THE BRITISH UNDER THE COMMAND OF  
THE TRAITOR BENEDICT ARNOLD

BURNT THE TOWNS OF NEW LONDON AND GROTON, AND SPREAD  
DESOLATION AND WOE THROUGHOUT THIS REGION.

In the First Cemetery, New London; the Starr Burial Ground,  
Groton; the old cemetery, near Gale's Ferry; the old burial ground  
at Allyn's Point; the Turner ground in Ledyard; at Noank, Pequonnoc,  
and in the old White Hall Ground on Mystic River, the tourist is con-  
tinually stumbling upon grassy mounds, some marked by quaint head-  
stones and some unmarked, which cover the dust of victims of "traitor  
Arnold's murdering corps." Some of the inscriptions on these stones

are exceedingly pathetic; and in their expressions of stern grief and indignation at the inhuman conduct of the foe, show how the settled dislike and hatred toward Great Britain, which endured for generations after the Revolution, was produced.

CHARLES BURR TODD



BATTLE MONUMENT ON GROTON HEIGHTS.



## THE SLAIN AT GROTON

Zebulon and Napthali were a people that jeopardized their lives unto the death in the high places of the field.—Judges, V. 18.

## LIST OF MEN WHO FELL AT FORT GRISWOLD

SEPTEMBER 6TH, 1781.

WILLIAM LEDYARD, Lieutenant-Colonel, Commanding

ELIJAH AVERY,	DANIEL CHESTER,	YOUNGS LEDYARD,
EBENEZER AVERY,	RICHARD CHAPMAN,	DANIEL LESTER,
SOLOMON AVERY,	PHILIP COVIL,	JOHN LESTER,
JASPER AVERY,	ELLIS COIT	JONAS LESTER,
ELISHA AVERY,	JAMES COMSTOCK,	WAIT LESTER,
DANIEL AVERY,	WILLIAM COMSTOCK,	JOSEPH LEWIS,
DAVID AVERY,	JOHN CLARK,	JOSEPH MOXLEY,
CHRISTOPHER AVERY,	DANIEL DAVIS,	NATHAN MOORE,
THOMAS AVERY,	SAMUEL HILL,	SIMEON MORGAN,
JOHN P. BABCOCK,	HENRY HALSEY,	EDWARD MILLS,
JOHN BILLINGS,	JOHN HOLT,	THOMAS MINER,
ANDREW BILLINGS,	RUFUS HURLBUT,	LUKE PERKINS,
SAMUEL BILLINGS,	NATHAN ADAMS,	LUKE PERKINS, JR.,
EZBKIEL BAILEY,	SIMEON ALLYN,	ELNATHAN PERKINS,
ANDREW BAKER,	SAMUEL ALLYN,	ELISHA PERKINS,
WILLIAM BOLTON,	BELTON ALLYN,	ASA PERKINS,
JOHN BROWN,	MOSES JONES,	SIMEON PERKINS,
HUBBARD BURROWS,	ELIDAY JONES,	DAVID PALMER,
JONATHAN BUTLER,	BENONI KENSON,	PETER RICHARDS,
FREDERIC CHESTER,	BARNEY KENNY,	AMOS STANTON,
ELDRIDGE CHESTER,	THOMAS LAMB,	ENOCH STANTON,

CAPT. ADAM SHAPLEY, of Fort Trumbull.

DAVID SEABURY,	THOMAS WILLIAMS,	PATRICK WARD,
JOHN STEDMAN,	JOHN WILLIAMS,	JOSEPH WEDGER,
NATAN SHOLES,	HENRY WOODBRIDGE,	BEN ADAM ALLYN,
THOMAS STARR,	CHR. WOODBRIDGE,	
NICHOLAS STARR,	JOHN WHITLESEY,	SAMBO LATHAM,
DANIEL STANTON,	STEPH. WHITLESEY,	JORDON FREEMAN.
HENRY WILLIAMS,	SYLV. WALWORTH,	

NOTE.—For years a marble slab on the south face commemorated the names of the slain, but becoming disintegrated by the weather, it was taken down and placed within the entrance to the base. It has lately been built into the wall on the inside, where it will long remain. EDITOR

## THE LEDYARD FAMILY

The name of Ledyard is indissolubly connected with the history of the country by the tragic fate of one of the sons of this old and worthy race; the murder of Colonel William Ledyard, and the death of many of his kinsmen who fell with him in the defence of Fort Griswold, Groton and New London, their birth-place and home, against the paricidal raid of the renegade Arnold and his new-found companions. And here it is fitting, in justice to the British officers, to say that the American traitor was not a welcome recruit to their ranks. His companions they were perforce, his friends they scorned to be. His future life was a striking example of the unfailing truth, that though he who, through honest convictions, may take sides against his countrymen and kinsmen in a period of civil war, may not therefore lose their regard, yet he who abandons the cause he has once espoused, and for considerations of personal advantage deserts to the enemy and takes up arms against his companions, thereby forfeits his claim to conscientious motives, and can justly hold no other fame than that of his prototype who sold his master for pieces of silver. This is here insisted upon, because of late an effort has been made to seek condonation for the atrocity of Arnold's crime in an exaggerated estimate of his previous service, which a careful study will show to have been always controlled by personal motives. As well seek an apology for Judas in his life as an apostle, as to attempt to vindicate Arnold from the just despal of mankind because of his previous conduct. The baneful connection of Arnold with the family of Ledyard is sufficient warrant for these words in this place.

The name of Ledyard seems to have been Welsh, and although there is the authority of ancient usage for the more general English form of Lediard, as in the name of Lediard-Tregoze, the family seat, yet that found in the American branch has the warrant of closer conformity to its patronymic. Lord Edward Herbert of Cherbury, in his charming autobiography, makes mention of Llwydyard as a place in Wales, and it is hardly questionable that the Ledyards are a branch of the innumerable race of Llwyds, or Lloyds, who trace their ancestry to the early Britons who fought with Arthur against the Saxon Kings. On the other hand, Bishop's Lydiard in Somerset appears in Domesday Book

as Lidegar, whence the varieties of Ledgard, Ledgiard, Ledear, hamlets in England and Scotland.

There is an element of romance in the history of many of the old American families, of which that of Ledyard has its full share. This arises from the close connection of families on the two sides of the water holding a common name, a common origin and bearing common arms, and from the destruction of church and family records in England during the many periods of civil commotion. The family of St. John, of whom the first Viscount Grandison was the first English peer, and whose brilliant scion Henry St. John was the great Bolingbroke, prince of orators and letters, were of the Lydiard or Ledyard stock. Their family seat was Lydiard-Tregoze, a small village three miles from Swindon, in the county of Wiltshire. The old church at this place contains numerous monuments of the St. John family whose pedigree with their arms and quarterings is curiously painted on the folding doors on the north side of the chancel, and within these doors is also painted the tomb of St. John and his lady who died in 1594 and 1598. The descent of the St. Johns' is traced in a quaint pedigree, from which it appears that Tregoze was a well-known hereditary estate at the time of the Norman Conquest, that "Tregoze was a great baron in his age," and that marriage brought to the St. Johns' and

"Has kept the land of Lydiard in our race  
Where at this day is St. John's dwelling place."

Henry St. John, Baron of Lydiard-Tregoze during his short period of favor as minister of Queen Anne, was created Viscount Lord Bolingbroke, but, on her death and the fall of the Tory party, was attainted of high treason in 1714, and his estates confiscated. He was stripped of his titles and compelled to fly the kingdom. He had married Frances, daughter of Sir Henry Winchcombe, who died leaving no issue. After a residence in France, where he married the Marquise de Villette, a niece of Madame de Maintenon, he returned to England. His estates were restored to him by Act of Parliament. He died childless in 1751. Under the settlement established by Parliament his estates descended to the heirs of his father's body under the law of entail. The inheritance was contested and the case passed into the courts, where the great Bolingbroke cause, as it was called, was tried in the King's Bench in 1807. The question turned upon which of the brothers was the eldest. The Attorney General proved that St. John was the eldest, and that he was the father of a son John who was lost. In this missing heir to the

entail of St. John and the title of Bolingbroke is found the central point of the mystery which has for a half century disturbed the minds or excited the curiosity of the Lediards of England and of their "Kinsmen beyond sea." Who was the missing John Lediard, the "lost St. John," the rightful heir? Despairing of finding him in England, he has been sought for in America. The Hon. Horatio Seymour, who descends from the Ledyards, has been repeatedly importuned to urge the claims of the American branch to the vast estate.

A similar cloud of mystery hangs over the parentage of John Ledyard, the first of the name in America. Sparks in his life of John Ledyard, the traveller, says that "his grandfather, named also John Ledyard, came in early life to America and settled at Southold, Long Island, as a small trader in dry goods. He was a native of Bristol, England, and had been bred a merchant in London. Being prosperous in business at Southold, he was soon married to a lady of amiable qualities and good fortune, the daughter of Judge Youngs, a gentleman of character and influence in that place. From Southold he removed to Groton, where he purchased an estate and resided many years." Sparks is correct as to the relationship. John Ledyard, the traveller, was the grandson of the original settler, but there is quite another tradition in the family as to the occupation of the first emigrant, a tradition born out by the fact that his pursuits in Connecticut were not those of a trader. Not that there was or is anything derogatory in trade, but that his early education had been of a character which, rare in the colonies, fitted him for positions for which the training of the higher faculties was necessary. He was born in England and in the year 1700, as the inscription on his tomb-stone in the old burial ground at Hartford, Connecticut, shows, but in what part of England is not known; and it does not appear that he imparted that knowledge to his children, one of whom lived until 1846, and would surely have passed it to her children, some of whom survived until after 1875. There is reasonable conjecture, however, that Sparks was right in his statement that he was born in Bristol, though it is not probable that it was more than reasonable conjecture on his part. Investigations were made in England about the year 1850 by Mr. George S. Ledyard, of Cazenovia, who visited Wiltshire and found a remote kinsman in a Mr. John Ledyard Phillips, of Melksham, whose arms were the same as those handed down in this country. viz.: *Arms*, Ermine on a chevron or, five mullets gules. *Crest*; a demi-lion rampant, *argent*, holding in his dexter paw a mullet gules. *Motto*, Per crucem ad Stellas. These

were the arms which, painted on a carriage, attracted the attention of John Ledyard, the traveller, in the streets of Bristol, from their similarity to those used by his grandfather in America. The same arms are borne by the Lediards of Chelsea, England. From information gathered from Mr. Phillips it appears that John Ledyard, of Wiltshire, married Elizabeth Hillard, of Bradford, Wiltshire, in 1665, by whom he had two sons, Ebenezer and John; the latter of whom married Sarah Windom, of Bristol, in 1690, and their son John married Sarah Allen, of Frome. It is supposed that the Ebenezer Ledyard above named married Miss Yarborough; a lady of this name is known to have been the mother of the first John Ledyard, who emigrated to America. The name of Yarborough appears also among those of the children of Colonel William Ledyard. Letters are extant from the first American John Ledyard, written from Groton in 1739-1741, to John Ledyard, Bristol, England, in which he addresses him as his cousin. He was probably the John who married Sarah Allen. The letters indicate great intimacy; John Ledyard, of Groton, complains that "since his arrival in New England" he had no letters from any of his relations in London. He appears to have visited London the year before the first letter was written. Miss Caulkins, in her history of New London records, "26th Oct., 1738, John Ledyard, of Groton, sailed for England in a new snow built by Capt. Jeffrey."

Further enquiries at Bristol resulted in ascertaining that the first of the name of whom there was any knowledge was John Ledyard, a merchant, of Bristol, who bought lands at Bradford, in Wiltshire, in 1658, part of which are in the possession of the Phillips branch of his descendants. There is a portrait of him in the possession of Mr. John Ledyard Phillips. He is painted in half armor with long auburn hair hanging in ringlets over it and wearing a blue sash. He was therefore probably a royalist in those troublous times. He married Elizabeth Hillard, of Bradford, in 1665. The Morgan Genealogy gives some account of the Ledyard family. So also a biographical sketch of John Ledyard, the traveller, by Charles B. Moore, in the New York Genealogical and Biographical Record for January, 1876, and the writer of the present article supplied a paper for the same number, entitled "The Family of Ledyard, descendants of John Ledyard in two generations," compiled from notes taken from information from the widow of Gen. Ebenezer Stevens of New York, who was the daughter of the first John Ledyard of America, and not the grand-daughter, as incorrectly printed in the preliminary note to that paper. Mr. Moore, in his sketch, says that "John



Ledyard, after visiting London, abandoned his household to seek his fortune by travel, came to Southold, Long Island, in 1717, and became first a teacher and then a trader there, a competitor, assistant or successor of the first L'Hommedieu, the successful merchant. He was a young traveller and well educated. He was prosperous in business and presentable in manners and person, and he married a daughter of Judge Benjamin Youngs, grandson of the Rev. John Youngs, one of the chief men of the place. \* \* \* He removed in 1727 to New London or to Groton adjoining it in Connecticut, and thence afterward to Hartford." The tradition in the family is that John Ledyard commenced life in Groton as a teacher of Latin, and his later career supplies abundant evidence that his mind and attainments were of a high order.

The family of Youngs was the most important of Southold. The Rev. John Youngs led the colonists who, in 1638, made the settlement on this the most eastern point of Long Island, then one of the towns in the jurisdiction of the New Haven Colony. The company under his guidance emigrated from Norfolkshire, chiefly from the towns of Southold and Great Yarmouth. Mr. Moore states that Youngs was of an old commercial family well known at Bristol, which may account for the selection of Southold by the youthful emigrant. It may be here noticed in passing that there is no statement or evidence of any previous family connection with any of the inhabitants of the Long Island village. Mr. Moore gives the date of John Ledyard's removal to Groton as 1727. If this be correct, it is probable that his marriage with Deborah, the only daughter of Judge Youngs, was of a later date, as the first offspring of the marriage, John Ledyard 2d, was not born until 1730.

The name of John Ledyard first appears in the Public Records of the Colony of Connecticut in May, 1732, when he joined with Thomas Seymour, John Curtiss, John Bissell, Solomon Coit and others in a memorial to the Assembly for the charter of a "Society for the Promoting and Carrying on Trade and Commerce to Great Britain and his Majesty's Islands and Plantations in America and other of his Majestie's Dominions, and for encouraging the Fishery, &c., as well as for the common good as their own private interests," under the name of "New London Society, united for Trade and Commerce," which was duly granted. In May, 1731, he was appointed by the Assembly one of the Justices of the Peace for the County of New London, and was successively so appointed each year till 1749. In 1739 Messrs. Thomas Prentice, John Ledyard and Christopher Avery 2d were appointed a Committee for the defence of the Port at New London and the security of

the seacoasts, to provide for and bring to the battery at New London "ten good cannon," with their carriages and ammunition, and in 1740 to procure ten additional pieces for the same battery. In 1741 he was the Auditor of the Superior Court, with Gurdon Saltonstall and Joseph Coit. He was chosen Deputy for Groton in the General Assembly, held at Hartford, May 13, 1742, and continued to represent that town until 1749. In 1744, he is found with James Wadsworth and others making report in obedience to the appointment of the assembly to provide for the instruction of "the men on board the country sloop in the method of fighting at sea," in the event of a French war. The same year he was alone empowered to purchase additional cannon for the defence of New London, and again the year following to see to the repair of the battery. Nor were his services alone called for in matters referring to New London. In 1746 he, with Jonathan Trumbull and Christopher Avery, was appointed to examine into the memorial of the Second Society for the division of the parish of Norwich into two distinct districts . . . in 1747, to inquire into the claims of one Minor, of Stonington, in the case of "sundry bills and notes of hand," consumed by fire in his dwelling house. In 1747 he reorganized the Societies of Lebanon, and, with others, was empowered to act as a Court of Chancery in the cast of a claim for £5,000 realized for prizes taken by the sloop Defence in the Colony's service on the expedition against Cape Breton in 1745.

In the year 1748 or 1749 his first wife, Deborah (Youngs), died. Her last child, Experience, was born in 1747, and John Ledyard soon after married, for his second wife, Mary, the widow of John Ellery, who brought to Mr. Ledyard a large estate. This lady was connected with the most important families in the colony. She was the only child and heiress of John Austin and Mary Stanley, daughter of Nathaniel Stanley, all of Hartford. John Austin brought with him from England a large fortune, which he greatly increased. At the time of her second marriage she had one son, William Ellery, by her first husband, who later married Experience (Ledyard), the youngest daughter and last born child of her second husband. Mr. Ledyard found entire happiness in the new connection, his wife adapting herself to his generous hospitality, which made of his house a home for his numerous grand-children, some of whom seem to have been its permanent residents.

His ceasing to represent the town of Groton in the Assembly, and his appearance as Deputy for the town of Hartford in the session of 1753, indicate that between these dates he changed his residence. He con-

tinued to represent Hartford till 1762. His last appearance was at the May Session of 1769, but he did not represent the town at all the intermediate Sessions between 1762 and that date. In 1754 he also received the appointment of Justice of the Peace for the county of Hartford, an office he retained by successive appointments until 1771, the year of his death.

He was one of the committee appointed "to settle the differences of Mr. Joshua Elderkin, gospel minister of West Haddam Parish, and his congregation," who were in sore difficulty as to what should be done about his homestead, he having been regularly dismissed from his charge. In 1754 he was appointed one of the Committee of War, with full power to send out men for the defence of the frontier towns in case of an invasion, and to adjust all accounts that might arise in consequence thereof. He was appointed one of the Auditors of the Colony's accounts in 1755, and one of the committee on the pay table of the trainbands, with full power in the premises. In 1757 he was appointed on the committee to settle and adjust all the expenses for billeting the forces raised by the Colony for the current year.

In May, 1758, he was appointed, together with John Chester, Thomas Wells, Roger Wolcott, Jr., and Daniel Edwards, Esquires, and Colonel Joseph Pitkin, to attend his Honour the Deputy Governor 'to hear the records of the acts and doings of the Assembly, and see the same signed by the Secretary as perfect and compleat,' and at the following Session was selected 'to repair to the executor or administrator of Col. Nathaniel Stanley, late of Hartford, deceased, and request of him or them to deliver to the said Ledyard the several bonds given by Col. Elisha Williams, deceased, Col. Samuel Talcott and the rest of the officers appointed in the late intended expedition to Canada (for to provide them suitable clothing), which said bonds were lodged with the said Stanley, deceased, as Treasurer of the Colony.'"

In May, 1760, he was chosen by the Assembly to receive the sums collected in each congregation in the county of Hartford, in aid of the sufferers by the great fire which occurred at Boston on the 20th March of that year, when, according to the representations of Governor Pownall, "two hundred and twenty families were turned out of doors and became objects of charity, and the calamity was so great and extensive that the means of relief from among themselves, and by the contributions of their own inhabitants, was greatly inadequate to the loss. In the same month he was appointed, with Daniel Edwards and Joseph Talcott, to inspect the drawing of the lottery authorized upon the

memorial of Joseph Buckingham, Thomas Seymour and other inhabitants of the town of Hartford, to raise three hundred pounds lawful money, on a deduction of ten per cent on the sale of tickets for the repairing the main streets in the town on the west side of Connecticut river. In October he appears with Jonathan Trumbull and David Rowland, Esquires, as a creditor of the Colony, having advanced money to the Treasurer upon his notes. In 1758 and 1761 he was one of the Auditors of the Colony's accounts with the Treasurer.

John Ledyard was greatly interested in the movement made in Connecticut for the protection and education of the Indians. The Moravians established a mission among the tribes at Sharon and Kent, the security of which "being threatened by foreigners straggling about in the Colony upon evil and dangerous designs, and alienate and to estrange, the minds of the Indians." Messrs. James Wadsworth, Elihu Chauncey, John Ledyard, and Joseph Blackleath made report to the assembly that there was "common rumor that the plantations would be destroyed by the Europeans settled in the southwest, and the north joined with the Flatheads in the west, and that the school set up among the Indians westward of Kent, was discouraged by the influence of the said foreigners to endangering of his majesty's interest;" and the assembly passed an Act to provide relief against these evil and dangerous designs.

In 1754 Eleazar Wheelock made the first attempt to carry out the long cherished desire of the best men of the Hartford Colony to educate the Indians, an effort which resulted in the foundation of Dartmouth College. Mr. Joshua Moor, of Mansfield, gave a small tene-ment in Lebanon for the foundation of a charity school for the teaching of Indians' youth. In the success of this enterprise Mr. Ledyard took a deep interest. A letter on this subject is among the few that have come down to us. It is now printed from a copy kindly made by Baxter Perry Smith, Esq., the learned historian of Dartmouth College:

HARTFORD, Oct. 3, 1763

Rev. and Dear Sir :

Enclosed is a letter to Mr. Sparrow respecting your Indian school. Wish 'twas in my power to afford some further substantial assistance, but in the rule of the Just, of charitable Mr. Hervey, my charity purse is empty.

Last Sabbath afternoon I heard, at Mr. Davis' Meeting House, a sermon from these words : "I through the Law am dead to the Law," preached by an able and I believe godly Divine from Newark, whose name I have not got ; 'twas a most excellent discourse, the congregation, all attention, watching for their lives, as indeed it was for their Lives. I pray Almighty God to give the increase, and that it will please Him also abundantly to succeed, prosper and Bless the precious design you are in pursuit of.

Rev'd Sir, Your very humble servant,

To the Rev'd Mr. Eleazer Wheelock, Lebanon.

JOHN LEDYARD

In 1768 "Colonel Wyllis and Esquire Ledyard" were among Dr. Wheelock's legal advisers, and no doubt continued in that capacity during the succeeding year when the charter for an Academy or College was laid before Governor Wentworth for his approval. The College was located at Dartmouth, and instruction began at the close of 1770. Ledyard's death, soon after, deprived him of the satisfaction of seeing the success of the undertaking.

John Ledyard did not live to take part in the Revolution, but the towns of New London and Groton, in whose defences he had been actively engaged, became the scene of one of the most tragic events of the war, and his sons and kinsmen, in direct and collateral lines, gathered and fell in numbers the extent of which recalls the bloody tales of border war when whole clans went down together beneath the sword of the foe.

In December, 1775, the Groton Fort was begun under the direction of a committee appointed by the Governor and Council the month previous, of whom Ebenezer Ledyard, third son of John Ledyard, and one of the most influential citizens of the town, was one; and at the same time a fort was begun on the New London side of the Thames River, but it was a year before these works really deserved the name of fortifications; when they were called Forts Trumbull and Griswold, the latter being the Groton work. They satisfactorily served the purpose of defence until September, 1781, when the inhabitants of the towns were alarmed by the sudden appearance of hostile vessels in the offing. Col. William Ledyard (the fourth son of John Ledyard) was the officer charged with the defences. He hastily rallied his command, in the numbers of which were more than twenty of his immediate kin, including his nephews, Captain Youngs Ledyard and Captain William Seymour, of Hartford, who joined him as a volunteer, and, crossing the river, threw himself into Fort Griswold. The story of the assault, the brave defence, the courteous surrender and barbarous massacre of the heroic Ledyard and numerous of his officers and men, after all resistance had ceased, is well known. It is graven on monuments, and lives in the imperishable page of American history. No incident of the direful day will be forgotten in this Centennial year. Only such details as are immediately connected with the family of Ledyard need be recounted here. Captain Youngs Ledyard, seeing his uncle fall and that quarter was not given, rushed upon the enemy with a number of the garrison, determined to sell their lives as dearly as possibly. All were cut down in the fruitless effort. Captain Seymour,



the son of Colonel Thomas Seymour of Hartford, who had fallen, his knee shattered by a ball, was pierced thirteen times with bayonets. He was the only one of the garrison whose wounds were dressed by a British surgeon. Miss Caulkins, the faithful chronicler of New London town, accounts for the exception by the fact of the interference of Captain Beckwith, whom Seymour had met in New York City.

Ebenezer Ledyard, the brother of the Colonel, was not in the fight, but humanely interposing to prevent the removal of the unfortunate wounded to New York, was taken by the British as a hostage for the paroled prisoners left behind. The capture of Lord Cornwallis soon altered the fate of the prisoners, however, and on the 3d November a flag of truce, sent from New London, "returned from New York and brought one hundred and thirty-two American prisoners, among them Ebenezer Ledyard and Lieutenant Jabez Stow on parole, with the remainder of the prisoners who were captivated and carried off from New London and Groton by Benedict Arnold's burning party;" but the prisoners, says the report in the Connecticut Gazette, were "chiefly from the Prison Ship, and mostly sick." Nor is this generous vicarious suffering of Mr. Ledyard the only touching incident in the dark tragedy. Robert Hempstead, one of the wounded men, relates that "the light of the morning of the 7th brought with it some ministering angels to the relief of the wounded. The first was in the person of Miss Fanny Ledyard of Southold, Long Island (the daughter of Capt. John Ledyard, and sister of John Ledyard the Traveller), then on a visit to her uncle. She brought with her chocolate and wine and other refreshments to the house of Ebenezer Avery, where thirty-five wounded lay." Hempstead reports that "some of the wounded, who were not disabled from going to the pump, were repulsed with the bayonet," and that his first relief was from Miss Ledyard. From the fact that Ebenezer Ledyard gave the name of Guy Carleton to a son born in 1787, it is fair to presume that during his captivity he experienced the kindness of this most accomplished British officer and worthy gentleman, who succeeded Sir Henry Clinton in the command of New York.

The State of Connecticut in 1830 erected a monument to the brave men who fell at Forts Griswold and Trumbull, and the remains of Colonel Ledyard, his wife and a daughter, were removed from their graves and laid within the enclosure. The old burying ground now bears the name of Ledyard Cemetery, and the name of the town itself was by act of Legislature changed to Ledyard, in perpetual commemoration

of the services of her gallant son. A century has elapsed since the skies were lurid with the glare of villages burned by the miscreant Arnold and his contemptible Tory companions, supported by British officers and British troops, as cruel and as merciless as themselves. The memory of such deeds does not fade with time. It is well to preserve and at fitting seasons dwell upon them, not to revive the bitter animosities which they engendered and kept alive, but to strengthen the patriotic ties which hold our people together, by keeping ever present to the mind the sacrifices which our fathers made to establish the liberties and lay the foundation of the American nation.

Among the tomb-stones in the old burying ground at Groton there is one which has thus far puzzled the genealogists. It stands among those of the Ledyard family. In 1858, when the writer copied the inscriptions, the stone was already deeply sunken in the earth. Upon it, beneath a quaint device of a head with wings, is the following epitaph: "Here lies ye Body of Mr. Benjamin Ledyard he Departed this Life April 7th 1777 in ye 76th year of his age." He was born, therefore, a year after John Ledyard, but what the relationship between them, and whether he was married and left descendants or not, the writer has been unable to ascertain, and the notes collected from the various branches of the family show that the same question has puzzled other investigators also. Nor yet has the writer been able to discover the parentage of the Isaac Ledyard who married Elizabeth, the widow of Captain Richard Christophers, the King's Naval Officer in the port of New London. She was the daughter of Gurdon Saltonstall, Governor of Connecticut from 1708-24, by his first wife, Jerusha, daughter of James Richards of Hartford. Captain Christophers died June 9, 1726. By the Public Records of the Colony, she, with her husband Isaac Ledyard, appears in May, 1737, as a petitioner to the General Assembly of the Colony for a settlement of the accounts of her former husband. She was born in 1690, and is said to have been much older than her second husband, Isaac Ledyard, of whom no other information has been found than that his name again appears in the Records of the Colony as at New London in May, 1741.

From the non-appearance of other Ledyards than those mentioned, it is a natural presumption that Benjamin Ledyard and Isaac Ledyard were kinsmen of John—that Benjamin was a bachelor, and that the wife of Isaac, advanced in life at the time of her second marriage, gave him no children.

John Ledyard died in 1771. A freestone tomb in the old Centre Burying Ground at Hartford bears this inscription:

"Sacred to the memory of JOHN LEDYARD, ESQ., who departed this life on the 3d day of September, A. D. 1771, aged 71 years. The memory of the just is blessed." His services are not forgotten, and he is remembered as an eminently just man. His descendants are numerous and have intermarried with distinguished families. They look back with honest pride to their first American ancestor.

JOHN AUSTIN STEVENS



ARMS OF LEDYARD

## APPENDIX

### WILL OF JOHN LEDYARD OF HARTFORD

In the Name of God, Amen.

I, JOHN LEDYARD, of Hartford, in Hartford County, in the Colony of Connecticut, being of a disposing mind and memory, do with my own hand write and make this my last will and testament in Hartford, this eighth day of May, Anno Domini 1771.

I beseech Almighty God that with becoming humility and gratitude of heart I may be enabled to commit my soul to his most mercifull hand, trusting and confiding in the all sufficient merits of Christ Jesus my Lord and my Saviour, for the eternal Salvation of it, as for such worldly estate as the divine being has bestowed upon me, I give and dispose of it as follows.

*Imprimis*

Let my just debts be punctuall paid.

*Item*

I give and bequeath to my dear wife (in lieu of Dower), my negro called Didge, one half of my Estate, Horses, Sheep and Hogs, one half of all my farming utensils and household furniture, excepting what I shall hereby otherwise dispose of all to be hers for ever, and also Twenty pounds to be paid her yearly from year to year so long as she continues my widow, and in case she shall marry again, it is my will that my Executors pay her One Hundred pounds in a reasonable time after such Marriage as hereafter provided.

*Item*

I give to my two sons, Ebenezer and William, Two Hundred pounds each. To the children of my son Youngs one hundred and Twenty pounds, a Double share in which I give to my Grandson Youngs, the rest of these children to have share and share alike in this Legacy, and bequest my son Youngs estate of what it was indebted to me.

*Item*

To the children of my late daughter Coleman I give One Hundred pounds.

*Item*

To my daughters Elizabeth and Experience I give Two Hundred pounds each.

*Item*

To my daughters Lucy, Lucretia and Anne I give One hundred and Twenty pounds each.

My daughters Seymour and Vandervoort are supposed to have had an equivalent to the former Legacies to their Sisters, and my daughter Tallcott more than such equivalent considering her interest by her Grandfathers. By the foregoing Legacies I have (as near as I can) placed my sons and daughters and Grandchildren hitherto mentioned in such equality or proportion as I think right in disposition of my estate thus far.

*Item*

I consider my son John, deceased, as having a large portion out of my estate. I also consider he was my first born, this last consideration determines me to say 'tis my will that my executors let to interest One hundred and fifty pound, and as the children of my said son come of age or marry to pay out to them that money with the interest in proportion, viz.: To the eldest son a double portion, and to the other of these children share and share alike, and if any or either of the children of my son John die before they have a right to demand and receive his or her or their part in this Legacy, the survivors to have it in the same proportion as given, and this is the whole that I may (consistent with what I suppose to be just towards my children) give to the heirs of my son John.

I give to my son Austin my right in the upper mills in Hartford, and to the adjoining house and land, also the lot of land formerly Humphrey's lot and the Barn on it, and the small lot I bought of Daniel Hall, and the lot in the meadow that I bought of Capt. Jonathan Seymour, and all the land [in] Town that I bought of my son-in-law William Ellery and one Bunce (called the oil mill lot, and two lots of land being contiguous that I bought of Cole and of Crow, being part of what was called Common lands, also one half of all the Horses, Cattle, Sheep, Hogs that I shall be possessed of, and also I give to my said son Austin, one half of my utensils and instruments for farming and husbandry.

*Item*

The residue of my estate not hereafter otherwise disposed of, I give amongst all my children now living (excepting my son Austin who has a full share in my estate in the above provision made for him) and the children of my son Youngs, and of my daughter Coleman in manner as follows, to such of my sons now living (my son Austin excepted) a double share in proportion to their sisters. To such of my daughters now living half as much as to one of their brothers, only enjoining that my daughter Talcott pay Eighty pounds (out of what will be coming to her) towards discharging the Legacy of One Hundred and twenty pounds to one of her sisters, which will about make my four youngest daughters equal; to the children of my son Youngs, I give as much as to one of my living sons, and to the children of my daughter Coleman as much as to one of my living daughters; my children are all near equally and dear to me, and in this disposition of my estate I have aimed at doing them justice; the children of my first wife seem to have some advantage in the above disposition occasioned by my considering that I have great part of their mother's portion (who was heiress to one third of a handsome estate) and the children of my present wife have laid up for them by the will of their Honored Grandfather Austin what will make them more than equal in parental interest to the former, and this I approve of as 'twill help them in point of education. *Item*

I give to my children-in-Law William Ellery and Jane Ellery and to Eunice Ellery, daughter of my late Son-in-Law John Ellery, all the silver utensils and vessels which Mr. John Ellery, my wife's former husband had, that descended to him from his natural ancestors or that he had with his first wife, to be equally divided between said William, Jane and Eunice Ellery, and if said Eunice die childless then her part to be equally divided betwixt said William Ellery and Jane Ellery, further if it appears that said Eunice Ellery has legal right to the whole of an estate which belonged to her grandfather Ellery at Malden in Essex in Great Britain, then and in such case, 'tis my will that said Eunice have no share or part in the above mentioned Silver utensils and vessels, but that all of them be equally divided between said William Ellery and Jane Ellery. *Item.*

It was my design to have given my negro Didge to my son-in-law Seymour for that he formerly saved the life of my said negro in a manner without endangering his own, but as I know this negro more agreeable to my wife than any other I have, he is given unto her, and in his stead I do give to my said son-in-law Seymour any other of the negroes I may be possessed of that he shall chuse.

I do hereby empower my executors hereafter to be named to sell any of my estate, real and personal, not hereby otherwise disposed of, and the same to turn into money to be let out to enable them to make the yearly or other payments to my wife, children and Grandchildren, but not more than sufficient, and if my wife shall not incline to accept (in lieu of Dower) what I have given her as above, then it is my will that the moveable estate and what else is before given to her, be divided amongst my children and grandchildren, viz.: To such of my sons now living a double share in proportion to their sisters. To such of my daughters now living half as much as one of their brothers. To the children of my son Youngs as much as to one of my living sons. To the children of my daughter Coleman as much as to one of my daughters now living. As my wife is advancing in years, am sensible would be too great a burthen to lay on her the weight of Executorship, and her land being brought into very profitable order, and the provisions for her in this will are quite sufficient to render her life easy and happy as to this world's goods.

And I do appoint my sons Ebenezer and William to be the Executors of this my last Will and Testament, and if my son Austin shall be Twenty-one years of age at the time of my death, I do hereby appoint and join him an Executor with them.

JOHN LEDYARD, the above mentioned Testator, signs, seals, pronounces and declares the foregoing instrument to be his last will and testament.

JOHN LEDYARD, (L. S.)

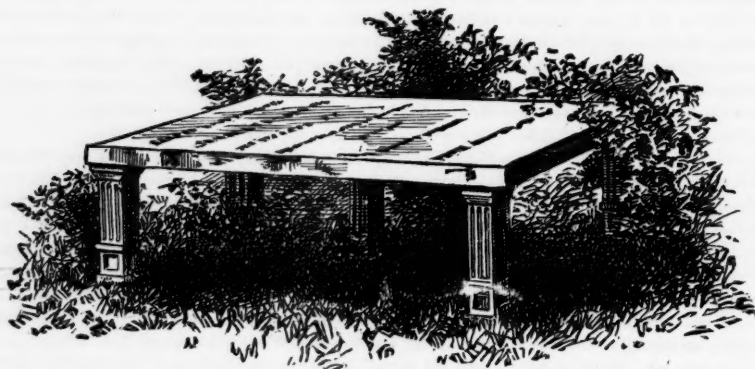
In presence of John Laurence, Samuel Olcott, Wm. Lawrence.

*From Book 12, page 120 of Hartford Probate Records.*



At a Court of Probate holden at Hartford for the district of Hartford, on the 6th day of September, A. D. 1771. Present, I. Talcott, Esqr., Judge.

The last will and testament of John Ledyard, late of Hartford, deceased, was now exhibited in Court by Ebenezer and William Ledyard, sons of the said deceased and executors named in said will, who accepted the trust thereof, said will being proved by the witnesses thereto is by this Court approved and ordered to be recorded and kept on file.



TOMB OF JOHN LEDYARD—OLD CENTRE BURIAL GROUND, HARTFORD, CONN.

## DESCENDANTS OF JOHN LEDYARD IN TWO GENERATIONS

### ISSUE BY FIRST MARRIAGE

JOHN LEDYARD had by his first wife Deborah, daughter of Judge Benjamin Youngs, ten children; five sons and five daughters. Of the sons:

I. JOHN LEDYARD followed the sea as captain of a vessel in the West India trade, a dangerous occupation in days when the entire Atlantic coast was infested by privateers and pirates who differed from each other but in name. He married Abigail, daughter of Robert Hempstead, of Southold, by whom he had six children. 1. JOHN, the traveller, companion of Captain Cook in the disastrous voyage on which he came to his death. 2. FREDERICK, who died young. 3. FERDINAND, who died young. 4. THOMAS GROVER, of Southold. 5. GEORGE. 6. Fanny, who appears in the story of Fort Griswold as the ministering angel, and who was later married to Richard Peters, of Southold.

II. YOUNGS LEDYARD, born 25th Jan., 1731, died 4th April, 1762, also traded with the West Indies, and died on one of his voyages. There is a tradition in the family that suspicions of foul play rested upon Benedict Arnold, later notorious, who sailed with him as clerk or supercargo, and on his return it is said made no accounting of the venture, a proceeding quite in character with his later career. Youngs Ledyard married in June, 1748, Aurelia (Morgan in his genealogy gives the name as Mary) Avery, of Groton, where he resided. By her he had eight children: 1. Deborah, born 19th May, 1749, married to Col. Christopher Morgan, of Groton. 2. YOUNGS, born 24th June, 1751, killed 6th September, 1781, who was captain of a company in the command of his brother Colonel William, and mortally wounded in Fort Griswold when it was stormed; he died the next day. 3. BENJAMIN, born 6th March, 1753, died 9th Nov., 1803, married 1st Catharine Forman; 2d, Ann Rhea. 4. ISAAC (Doctor), born 5th Nov., 1754, died 30th August, 1803, married 13th March, 1785, Ann McArthur. 5. Mary, born 3d Sept., 1758, who was married to General Jonathan Forman. 6. WILLIAM, born 11th March, 1760, died 30th

Jan., 1761. 7. Lucy, who was married to — Phelps. 8. CALEB, born 18th Oct., 1762, who was midshipman with Commodore Nicholson in the Trumbull, and died at sea at the age of 19.

III. DEBORAH LEDYARD was married to John Coleman, of Massachusetts.

IV. MARY LEDYARD was married to Colonel Thomas Seymour, of Hartford, Connecticut.

V. EBENEZER LEDYARD lived at Groton and died there in 1811. He married, *first*, Mary Latham, of Groton, by whom he had: 1. EBENEZER. 2. JONATHAN. 3. DAVID. 4. GURDON. 5. GURDON. 6. WILLIAM PITT. 7. AUSTIN. 8. NATHANIEL. 9. BENJAMIN. 10. JOSEPH. He married, *second*, Elizabeth Gardner, of Stonington, by whom he had: 11. JONATHAN. 12. HENRY G. 13. GUY CARLETON.

VI. WILLIAM LEDYARD, Colonel of the Connecticut militia, who commanded at Fort Griswold and fell mortally wounded, thrust through the body with his own sword by the British officer to whom he surrendered it after a brave but hopeless defence against superior numbers. The vest worn by him, showing the rents made by the sword as it entered and came out from the body, is still preserved, a witness of the atrocity, by the Connecticut Historical Society at Hartford. More than twenty of the name and connections of Ledyard were engaged in this action.

The following memoranda are taken from his Family Bible in the Connecticut Historical Society:

On the 8th January, 1761, he married Anne Williams, of Stonington. She was born 21st March, 1744, died 8th September, 1790. Their children were: 1. Mary Ann Ledyard, born 16th February, 1763, died 9th March, 1782; unmarried. 2. Sarah Ledyard, born 6th May, 1765, died 25th July, 1781; unmarried. 3. WILLIAM LEDYARD, born 30th December, 1766, died 14th Sept., 1777. 4. Deborah Ledyard, born 27th January, 1769, died 20th December, 1791, married 28th November, 1786, — Smith. 5. JOHN YARBOROUGH LEDYARD, born 24th June, 1773, died January, 1792; unmarried. 6. PETER VANDERVOORT LEDYARD, born 2d September, 1775, died 16th April, 1829, married 22d September, 1796, Maria, daughter of Andrew and Maria Van Tuyl, of New York. 7. WILLIAM

LEDYARD, born 1st September, 1777, died 9th September, 1796; unmarried. 8. HENRY YOUNG LEDYARD, born 27th August, 1781, died 20th February, 1790.

VII. NATHANIEL LEDYARD, Doctor of Medicine, born 1740, died at Hartford 1st June, 1766, from wounds received in an explosion of powder while celebrating the repeal of the Stamp Act. The school house, a large brick building, on the site where the Hartford Hotel was erected later, was blown up and a number of persons injured. Doctor Ledyard, who was then in the 26th year of his age, had one of his thighs broken. He died unmarried. The rejoicing which was ordered by the General Assembly was at its height. The young gentlemen of the city were preparing fireworks for the evening when the accident occurred. A full account of it appeared in Parker's Connecticut Gazette for May 31, 1766, and was reprinted in Barber's Connecticut Historical Selections. In the old Centre Burying ground at Hartford there is a tomb-stone over the remains of Doctor Ledyard with the following characteristic inscription: In memory of | DOCTOR NATHANIEL LEDYARD | who Departed this Life | June ye 1st A.D. 1766 | in ye 26th Year of his age |

Just when deliver'd from her boding fears  
My cheerful country wip'd away her tears,  
Materials wrought the public Joys to aid,  
With dire explosion snapp'd my vital thread,  
And Life's rich Zest, the Bliss of being free  
Prov'd the sad cause of bitter death to me.

VIII. ELIZABETH LEDYARD died unmarried.

IX. SARAH LEDYARD married to Peter Vandervoort, of New York.

X. EXPERIENCE LEDYARD, born 1747, died 5th March, 1773, was married to William Ellery, of Hartford, stepson of her father John Ledyard.

#### ISSUE BY SECOND MARRIAGE

JOHN LEDYARD married, *second*, Mary, the widow of John Ellery, of Hartford, and daughter of John Austin and Mary Stanley (widow of Nathaniel Hooker). John Austin was also an emigrant, a midshipman in the service of Queen Anne, who, attracted by the progress of the religious colony, left the service, and, turning his fortune into gold, settled in Hartford early in the eighteenth century, and became a merchant

of note. His mother, a lady of large fortune, is said to have lost a considerable portion of her estate in John Law's famous Mississippi scheme which turned the heads of Europe at this period. Nathaniel Stanley, the father of Mary, wife of John Austin, was a man of note and the Treasurer of the Colony. They were all of Hartford. The children of John Ledyard by his second wife, Mary Stanley (widow of John Ellery) were:

XI. ABIGAIL LEDYARD, married to Samuel Talcott, of Hartford.

XII. AUSTIN LEDYARD, born at Hartford, 1751, died at Hartford 11th September, 1776. He married Sarah Sheldon by whom he had Mary Austin Ledyard, who was married to Dr. Cogswell, of Hartford.

XIII. LUCY LEDYARD, died unmarried.

XIV. LUCRETIA LEDYARD, born at Hartford 22d February, 1756, died at Astoria, Long Island, 2d July, 1846, was married, *first*, to Richardson Sands, of Sands Point, L. I., by whom two sons; *second*, to Ebenezer Stevens, of Boston, later of New York, Lieut. Colonel of Artillery in the revolutionary army, and Major General N. Y. State Artillery.

XV. ANNE LEDYARD, born Dec. 14, 1757, died Nov. 8, 1848, married to Andrew Hodge, of Philadelphia.

In closing this sketch of the descendants of John Ledyard in two generations, the remarkable, perhaps unique, fact, noticed in the account contributed to the New York Genealogical and Biographical Record may be here repeated, viz.: That six grandchildren of John Ledyard, born in 1700, were alive in 1860; two in 1876. The last survivor Mary, daughter of General Stevens and Lucretia (Ledyard) his wife, the widow of Frederick William Rhinelander, of New York, died at Newport 26th August, 1877, the three lives thus covering the unusual period of ONE HUNDRED AND SEVENTY-SEVEN YEARS; the last survivor dying one hundred and six years after her grandfather.

#### ISAAC LEDYARD

ASSISTANT SURGEON IN THE CONTINENTAL ARMY

Dr. Isaac Ledyard, born at Groton, Nov. 5, 1754, began life as a merchant, but soon wearied

of the occupation, and, according to Thompson's sketch of him (*History of Long Island*, II, 525), "travelled to New York, where he sought an introduction to Dr. John Bard, a distinguished physician then at the head of the medical school of that city, and finally was admitted a student in his office, where he met the most affectionate encouragement, which ripened into a firm and lasting friendship. When hostilities began with Great Britain and his brother Benjamin was commissioned captain in McDougall's regiment, First New York Battalion, Dr. Ledyard obtained the post of surgeon in the same regiment. He was soon after made hospital surgeon, and later raised to the post of second officer in that department. He continued attached to the army until the peace in 1783, after which he practiced medicine in the City of New York. He was one of the original founders of the New York State Branch of the Cincinnati in 1783.

After the peace, he resided until 1785 at the famous Roger Morris House, well known as Washington's Headquarters on Harlem Heights, and still one of the most attractive residences on Manhattan Island. At that time it was celebrated for the beauty of its surroundings, its luxuriant foliage and beautiful gardens.

On the 13th March, 1785, Dr. Ledyard married Ann, daughter of John McArthur, of New York. In 1794 he erected a mansion on a farm which he had purchased at Newtown, Long Island, to which he removed with his family the next year. Here he was in constant association with De Witt Clinton, who lived at the same place, and attended him as his surgeon on the occasion of his duel with John Swartwout in August, 1799, when the latter was wounded. He was fond of literary pursuits and an occasional contributor to the newspaper polemics of this excited political period. A strong opponent of the Federal party, he was chosen a presidential elector in 1800, and cast his vote for Thomas Jefferson. He was appointed health officer at Staten Island, where he died of an infectious disease August 28, 1803.

Thompson says of him "he was a gentleman of polished manners, affable and of wonderful conversational powers. His reading was expressive, his observation acute and his information on most subjects large and accurate. The death of

such a man was not only a great calamity to his family, but to the public."

#### THE LEDYARDS OF NEW YORK

##### BENJAMIN LEDYARD AND ISSUE

The New York branch of the family of Ledyard, descends from Benjamin Ledyard, grandson of John Ledyard, the first of the name in this country, and the third child of his second son Youngs Ledyard and Aurelia Avery, of New London, his wife.

BENJAMIN LEDYARD was born at Groton on 5th March, 1753. He was brought up partly in the family of his grandfather, John Ledyard, at Hartford, with his brother Isaac and his cousin John, later known as the Traveller. Afterwards he went into the store of Peter Vandervoort of New York, husband of his Aunt Sarah (Ledyard). Mr. Vandervoort was engaged in the hardware business and as an importer of this class of merchandise before the revolution, and his nephew had been admitted to partnership about that period.

On the outbreak of hostilities Benjamin Ledyard, although but recently married (he had married Catharine, daughter of Samuel Forman, of Middletown, Penn., on the 22d January, 1775,) at once enlisted and raised a company which, according to a tradition in the family, was known as the Hairy Caps. They were enrolled in the First Regiment of New York Continental Infantry, Colonel Alex. McDougall commanding, in which Benjamin Ledyard was commissioned captain on the 28th June, 1775. McDougall's regiment went to Quebec in the winter, but apparently Captain Ledyard was left behind, as he appears issuing warrants to a recruiting officer of the 3d Company New York Continentals in February, 1776. In the arrangement of the New York Line by a committee of the New York Convention, November 21, 1776, he was promoted to a majority, Henry B. Livingston being made colonel in the place of McDougall, who was already serving as Brig. General. General McDougall wrote to the committee recommending Ledyard's promotion as the second in the regiment, and "the man the corps have their eye on for major," and added that he thought

him by far the best qualified for it. There seems to have been some uncertainty as to his acceptance, probably on account of his health, which, never strong, soon broke down entirely. He was engaged at the battle of White Plains in 1776. He was at the battle of Monmouth either with his command or while at home on a furlough, his regiment being stationed at West Point with the forces posted there for the protection of the Hudson Highlands. At Monmouth his horse was shot under him. There is tradition that after this battle a British armed vessel driven ashore was captured by the militia, and that Major Ledyard prepared the articles of capitulation paroling the officers. His health failing him, he found himself unable to perform field duty, and on the 26th March, 1779, as appears from the petition of his son for his father's share of the lands allotted revolutionary soldiers, he resigned his commission, and withdrew from active service. He continued, however, to render effectual assistance as a volunteer with the militia in cases of invasion till the close of the war.

The army was in sore need of salt and the government urged its manufacture. Major Ledyard became superintendent of a company engaged in this business at Barnegat. He was one of the original founders of the New York State Society of the Cincinnati in 1783. At the peace he returned to New York and renewed his commercial pursuits, forming a partnership with Colonel Walker, aid of Baron Steuben. This partnership was dissolved April 20, 1785, after which he continued his mercantile pursuits with his brother, Dr. Isaac Ledyard, for a time. He finally withdrew to Middletown and opened a country store. In 1793 the military bounty lands of New York were allotted in Onondaga County, and Major Ledyard receiving the appointment of clerk of the county, removed to the village of Aurora, and there established his office and built a cottage in which he resided with his family, and which was standing in 1843. Here he was visited by his fellow soldiers, some of whom, among others Aaron Burr, bought lands in the neighborhood. The fever for speculation in western lands, from which Washington and Robert Morris and George Clinton were not ex-

empt, was high at the close of the last century, and the fertile valleys of New York were the favorite field. The town was first named Scipio, but later was divided. The new town set aside embraced the village of Aurora, in which he had his home, and received the name of Ledyard in his honor.

By his wife Catharine Forman, who was born 29th April, 1753, and died 22d July, 1797, he had ten children. 1. Mary, born 16th October, 1775, married to Glen Cuyler; 2. Helen, born 15th Nov., 1777, married 22d February, 1797, to John Van Lincklaen, of Amsterdam; 3. BENJAMIN, born 27th August, 1779, died, New York, 26th Oct., 1812, married, New York, April 3d, 1811, Susan French, daughter of Brockholst Livingston; 4. SAMUEL, born New Jersey, 29th Jan., 1782, died 27th Nov., 1866, married Ann Phelps; 5. ISAAC, born 9th March, 1784, died 21st March, 1787; 6. CALEB, born 24th Sept., 1786, died —; 7. Catharine, born 6th Jan., 1789, married to Perry G. Childs; 8. Margaret, born 4th April, 1791, married to Cornelius Cuyler; 9. JONATHAN DENISE FORMAN, born 10th June, 1793, to Jane Strawbridge; 10. AARON BURR, born 15th June, 1790, died 1st October, 1795.

BENJAMIN LEDYARD, in 1801, married *second* Ann Rhea, of Monmouth, New Jersey, by whom he had no issue. He died at Aurora, Cayuga County, New York, on the 9th November, 1803.

#### SAMUEL LEDYARD AND ISSUE

SAMUEL LEDYARD, fourth child of Benjamin Ledyard and Catharine Forman, his wife, was born in New Jersey 29th Jan., 1782, and died 27th Nov., 1866. He married *first*, 23d May, 1805, Ann Phelps, who died 17th Feb., 1815.

Their children were, 1. Catharine Lucy, born 3d Dec., 1806; 2. Helen Lincklaen, born 26th Nov., 1811; 3. Mary Forman, born 5th May, 1814.

He married, *second*, Sophia Childs, 15th Jan., 1816. Their children were: 1. Rachel Childs, born 10th Dec., 1816. 2. BENJAMIN, born 27th April, 1819. 3. SAMUEL FORMAN, born 27th Feb., 1821. 4. TIMOTHY CHILDS, born 3d Aug., 1822. 5. JOHN HENRY, born 17th May, 1824. 6. T. SCOTT, born 12th June, 1827. 7. Mar-



garet Cuyler, born 11th June, 1830. 8. GLEN CUYLER, born 21st Jan., 1834.

#### JONATHAN DENISE FORMAN LEDYARD AND ISSUE

JONATHAN DENISE FORMAN LEDYARD, ninth child of Benjamin Ledyard and Catharine Forman, his wife, was born 10th June, 1793, and died 7th Jan., 1874. He married 26th October, 1819, Jane Strawbridge. Their children were: 1. LINCKLAEN (later Ledyard Lincklaen, see the Lincklaens of Cazenovia), who was born 17th October, 1820, and died April 24th, 1864. He married 7th December, 1843, Helen Clarissa Seymour. 2. JONATHAN DENISE, born 1st May, 1828, married 2d March, 1853, Elizabeth Fitzhugh; they were both drowned 26th June, 1859, from the steamer Montreal on the St. Lawrence River. 3. GEORGE STRAWBRIDGE born 19th Feb., 1825, married Anne Fitzhugh. 4. CORNELIUS CUYLER, born 8th March, 1827, died 7th October, 1836. 5. Helen Lincklaen, born 5th May, 1829, married Aug., 1864, to John F. Seymour. 6. L. WOLTERS, born 8th April, 1836, married 1st June, 1867, Elizabeth Vail.

#### THE LEDYARD-LINCKLAENS OF CAZENOVIA

Jan Lincklaen, who had been an officer in the Dutch navy, came to America from Amsterdam, where he was born in 1763, and, with William Bayard, was appointed under the general direction of Theophile Cazenove, who made his residence in Philadelphia, agent for a Dutch company, which in 1795 purchased the four tracts of land in the central and western part of the State of New York, known as the Holland patent. Mr. Lincklaen settled at Chittenango Falls, in Madison County, and built the first saw and grist mills there in 1794. He was also the founder of the town of Cazenovia, one of the most beautiful villages in the State, which lies on the western margin of the lake of the same name, calling it after his friend Cazenove. Here in 1806 he erected the stately mansion which bears the name of the Lincklaen Manor House. Lincklaen place is beautifully situated and adorned with grand maple and linden trees, and the streets of the town are bordered with the same varieties,

luxuriant in leaf and branch, which were planted by the first tasteful proprietor.

On the 22d February, 1797, Jan Lincklaen married Helen, second daughter of Benjamin Ledyard and Catharine Forman. Issue failing, the Lincklaen estate passed to LINCKLAEN LEDYARD, the nephew of Mrs. Jan Lincklaen, (son of her brother Jonathan Denise Forman Ledyard), who, on taking the property, changed his name to LEDYARD LINCKLAEN. He married Helen Clarissa Seymour 7th December, 1843, and died 24th April, 1864.

#### THE LEDYARDS OF RHODE ISLAND HENRY LEDYARD AND ISSUE

HENRY LEDYARD, the only child of Benjamin Ledyard, of New York, and Susan French Livingston, his wife, was born at New York 5th March, 1812, and died at Paris, France, 7th June, 1880. He married at Paris, France, 19th September, 1839, Matilda Frances, daughter of the Hon. Lewis Cass, of Michigan. She was born July 11th, 1818. At the time of his marriage, Mr. Ledyard was attached to the American Embassy. Mr. Cass was then Minister to France. A gentleman of elegant manners and high culture, Mr. Ledyard was eminently suited for diplomatic position. In 1839 he was made Secretary of Legation, and in 1842 Chargé d'Affaires, a position which he filled with credit to himself and to the satisfaction of his countrymen. He returned to America in 1844. Later he withdrew entirely from public affairs and made his permanent residence at Newport, taking part in public affairs with discretion and public spirit.

By his wife Frances Matilda Cass, who survives him, he had issue: 1. Elizabeth, born at the U. S. Legation, Paris, 10th October, 1840, married at Newport, R. I., to Francis W. Goddard, of Providence, R. I. 2, 3. HENRY BROCKHOLST and Susan Livingston, twins, born at U. S. Legation, Paris, 20th Feb., 1844—H. B. L. married 15th Oct., 1867, Mary R. L'Homme-dieu—S. L. married to Hamilton B. Tompkins. 4. LEWIS CASS, born at Detroit 4th April, 1851, graduate of Harvard College, 1872, married, April, 1878, Gertrude, daughter of Col. Wm. E. Prince, U. S. Army. 5. Matilda Spencer, born at Washington, D. C., 27th May, 1860.

EPITAPHS  
FROM LEDYARD CEMETERY

GROTON, CONN.

*The numbers correspond with the view annexed.*

I

Here  
lieth reunited  
to Parent Earth in  
the 46th Year of her Life  
ANN, for a few years the  
disconsolate RELICT of  
COL: WILLIAM LEDYARD,  
who in a Fort adjoining this Ground  
fell gallantly defending these TOWNS  
& HARBOUR. At her fond request her  
youngest son CHARLES aged 8  
years lies interred in her arms.

Those who know how to  
estimate female accomplishments  
in the Person of a tender Mother will  
judge of the melancholy reverence  
with which this Stone is erected  
to her memory by her only  
Surviving child Peter V. Ledyard

(Footstone)

A. L.

*(Now within the inclosure of the monument)*

II

Sacred  
to the Memory  
of

WILLIAM LEDYARD, ESQR

COL COMMANDANT of the Garisoned Post  
of NEW LONDON AND GROTON who, after  
a gallant defence, was with a Part of the  
brave Garison, inhumanly Massacred  
by British troops in  
FORT GRISWOLD

Sep 6th, 1781, Actatis Suae 43  
By a judicious and faithful discharge  
of the various duties of his Station, He  
rendered most essential Service to his  
Country: and stood confessed the  
unshaken Patriot and intrepid Hero:  
He lived the Pattern of Magnanimity: Courtesy  
and Humanity: He died the Victim of  
ungenerous rage and Cruelty.

*(Now within the inclosure of the monument.)*

III

In Memory of

MISS SARAH LEDYARD  
the amiable daughter of  
COL: WILLIAM & ANNE  
LEDYARD: who departed  
this Life July 21st 1781 in  
the 17th Year of her Age

Each tedious Task, Life's toilsome pains  
are o'er  
Her Sorrows cease, Care now she  
knows no more  
The Conflict's past, she took the plea  
sing Road  
From us ascended to that bright  
abode  
Where Faith on Angel's wings mounts  
us on high  
To see her there immortal in the  
sky

*(Now within the inclosure of the monument)*

IV

WILLIAM, Son of Major William  
and Mrs. Anne LEDYARD,  
died Sept the 14th 1777  
in the 11th Year of his Age

Whoe'er thou art that doest approach  
The dreary mansions of the Dead,  
Let not thy hasty feet encroach  
Or on these sacred manes tread  
But if soft pity moves thy breast  
Or innocence invites thy thoughts  
If blooming youth or lovely crest  
With beauties brightest raptures wrought  
If all that flattering hope could boast  
Or fondest wishes centred here  
Think wh [stone broken]

(Footstone)

WILLIAM  
LEDYARD  
1777

*(Now within the inclosure of the monument)*

V

[broken] YOUNG  
SON OF COL  
WILLIAM & ANNE  
LEDYARD WHO  
DIED MAY 23D  
782 AGED 3 YEARS

(Footstone)

HENRY YOUNG  
LEDYARD  
1782

*(Now within the inclosure of the monument)*

## VI

Here lies ye Bo  
dy of Mr Benja  
min Ledyard he  
Departed this Life  
April 7th 1777 in  
ye 76th year of  
his age

(Footstone)

Mr  
Benjamin Ledyard

## VII

In Memory of  
CAPT: JOHN LEDYARD Junr  
Who departed this Life  
March 17 1762  
aged 32 years

Once did I stand amid Life's busy throng  
Healthy and active, vigorous & strong  
Oft' did I traverse Ocean's briny waves  
And safe escape a thousand gaping  
Yet dire disease has stopd my vital  
And here I lie, the prisoner of Death  
Reader, expect not lengthened days  
Or if thou dost, think, think, ah think  
of me

## VIII

In Memory of  
William ye Son  
of Capt Youngs  
Ledyard & Mary  
his wife, who  
died Janr 30th  
1761, aged 10  
Mo & 19 Days

## IX

In Memory of  
Mrs. ELIZABETH AVERY  
the Wife of  
Ensign EBENEZER AVERY  
Who died  
Octr 31st 1784  
In the 36th Year of her Age

(Footstone)

Mrs  
Elizabeth  
Avery

## X

In Memory of  
Mrs ELIZABETH AVERY

the 2d Wife of  
Ensign EBENEZER AVERY  
Who died  
Octr 2d 1789  
In the 30th Year of her Age  
(Footstone)

Mrs  
Elizabeth  
Avery 2d

## XI

In Memory of  
Mrs ELIZABETH AVERY  
the 3d Wife of  
Ensign EBENEZER AVERY  
Who died  
Jan 21st 1797  
In the 40th Year of her Age

(Footstone)

Mrs  
Elizabeth  
Avery

## XII

In Memory of  
ORLANDO AVERY  
Who died  
Sep 18th 1821  
Aged 25 Years

(Footstone)

O. A.

## XIII

In Memory of  
Miss MARY COLEMAN  
Who died  
April 1st 1795  
In the 37th Year  
of her Age

(Footstone)

Miss  
MARY  
COLEMAN

## XIV

GUY CARLTON  
LEDYARD, Son of  
EBENR & ELIZA  
LEDYARD Died  
July 17th 1793  
Aged 6 Years  
& 13 Days

## XV

JONATHAN (Son  
of EBENEZER  
LEDYARD ESQr  
& ELIZABETH his  
Wife) Died FEB:  
12th 1782 Aged 1  
Month & 4  
Days

## XVI

IN MEMORY OF  
CAPT. YOUNGS LEDYARD  
who was mortally wounded  
making heroic exertions  
for the defense of  
FORT GRISWOLD  
Sep 6th, of which he died  
the 7th A D: 1781  
in the 31st Year of his Age

(Footstone)

CAPT  
YOUNGS  
LEDYARD

## XVII

IN MEMORY OF  
JOSEPH Son to EBEN  
EZER LEDYARD  
ESQRE & MARY his  
Wife. he Died Sepr  
ye 5 1778 Aged  
7 Days

## XVIII

Sacred lies here ye Body  
of GURDON LEDYARD Son  
to EBENEZER & MARY LED:  
YARD He Departed this  
Life August ye 19th 1770  
Aged eleven Months

The children are to Parents Given  
Yet soon they may be called to Heaven  
The Rarest Blessings from Heaven obtained  
Must be Returned again with hearts Unfeign'd  
For Him neither Sigh Mourn or Weep  
Since in Jesus (trust) he now doth Sleep  
Sleep on Sweet Babe & take thy Rest  
Since Heaven thought it to be Best

## XIX

In Memory of  
Mr. EBENEZER AVERY

who died  
Jan 10th 1828  
Aged 81 Years

## XX

(Not of Ledyard family)

## XXI

IN MEMORY OF  
EBENEZER LEDYARD Junr  
who died  
Nov 17th 1796  
Aged 36 Years  
(Footstone)  
EBENr  
LEDYARD JR

## XXII

Sacred  
to the Memory of  
EBENEZER LEDYARD  
who died  
Sep 29th AD 1811  
aged 75 years  
& 5 months

## XXIII

IN MEMORY OF  
MRS MARY LEDYARD  
the amiable wife of  
EBENEZER LEDYARD ESQr  
Born Janry 6th 1739  
Died Febry 15th 1779  
being 40 Years one  
Month & 12 days old

(Footstone)

No Inscription

## XXIV

BENJAMIN (Son  
of EBENEZER  
LEDYARD ESQr  
& MARY (his  
Wife) died APRIL  
15th 1788 Aged  
9 Years 7 months  
& 18 Days

(Footstone)

B. L.

XXV  
 Sacred  
 to the Memory of  
**HENRY G. LEDYARD**  
 Son of  
**EBENEZER LEDYARD ESQr**  
 who died  
 March 4 1823  
 aged 38 years

XXVI  
 Not of the Ledyard family

XXVII  
 In Memory of  
**FANNY LEDYARD**  
 Late consort of  
**GURDON LEDYARD**

who departed this Life  
 Dec 18th 1795  
 in the 24th Year of her Age  
 Midst joyous scenes, in life's propitious gale  
 Sickness and Death with Vigour me assail,  
 While Hope fair blooming from celestial skies  
 Cheers up my heart and bids my soul arise

(Footstone)  
**FANNY**  
**LEDYARD**

XXVIII  
 In Memory of  
**CHARLES FREDERICK LE**  
**DYARD**, Son of John  
 and Abigail Ledyard  
 who died Decr 9 1759  
 aged 3 Mo & 20 Days  
 Happy the Babe  
 Who Privileged by Fate  
 To shorten Labour  
 And a lighter weight  
 Received but yesterday.



PARTIAL VIEW OF LEDYARD CEMETERY  
 From a sketch drawn in 1858



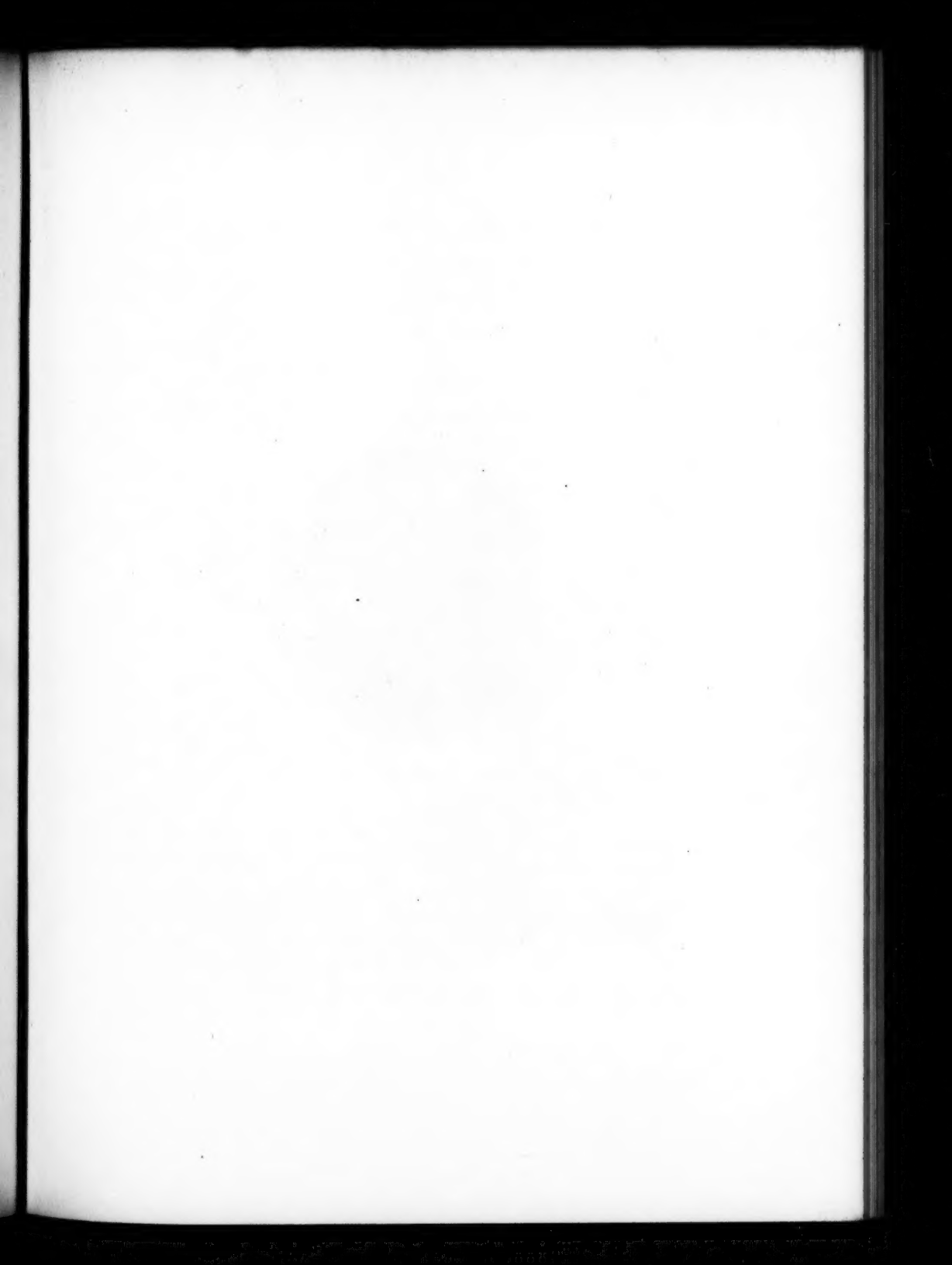
## THE LEDYARD HOUSE—HARTFORD

The Old Ledyard House at Hartford was built by John Ledyard (Judge Ledyard as he was called), who died in 1771, and whose remains lie near a shapely tomb in the old centre Burial Ground, at Hartford, stood on the northeast corner of Arch and Prospect Streets, facing south on Arch Street, a two story heavily timbered frame wood house, with plain straight roof. Its front extended from fifty to sixty feet, and its depth from thirty-five to forty. A wide hall, with a long straight and broad staircase of easy ascent, ran through the building. The rooms were large and lofty. There were two chimneys in the body of the house between the rooms. There were two windows on the west, and three on the east side of the front door. The doors were without porches. An L construction, in which was a kitchen and a well-room, joined the main building at the northeast corner. The cellar was under east half of house, with a Canto entrance on the east side from the L. There was a window at each of the east and west ends of the long attic or garret, in which a staircase led up the northwest corner. At each side of the front door stood a cedar tree, that on the east side of great size. About thirty feet from the house, on the west side, stood a row of elm trees, and a tree of the same kind near the house in the rear. The grade of the ground inclined upwards towards the north. In order to adapt the building to the accommodation of two families, a brick kitchen was erected about 1830, connecting with the main building, at the northwest corner. In the rear of the house, within one hundred and fifty feet, stood a small one-and-a-half story house, probably originally built for the accommodation of the negro servants. It was occupied by colored families for many years, and was torn down between 1835 and 1860. It was not included in the property in 1835, but was entered from Prospect Street.

Ledyard House must have been one of the handsomest residences of the town, and was torn down between 1865 and 1870. The site of the whole property described is at this time (1878) covered with the lawn of a residence in Prospect Street. The cedar trees were destroyed several years, but most of the elm trees are still standing. Prospect Street was laid out and opened I believe by Colonel Jeremiah Wadsworth, probably about 1790. The drawing of the house is as I remember it in 1835. It was owned by my father.

*Hartford, Conn.*

EDWARD W. WELLS





## THE SOUTHERN CAMPAIGN

1781

### FROM GUILFORD COURT HOUSE TO THE SIEGE OF YORK

*Narrated in the letters from Judge St. George Tucker to his wife*

---

#### THE PENINSULA CAMPAIGN

There is now a gap of two months in this series of letters. Major Tucker belonged to the militia, and so returned home when that body received its discharge after the battle of Guilford Court House. The interim, though short, was of the utmost importance.

Cornwallis, broken with the force of his victory, pursued his march to Wilmington. His route could have been tracked by the number of new-made graves, if he had left no other traces behind him of the progress of a distressed army. The rapid removal of the wounded succeeding the action at Guilford now began to tell upon the royal forces, hardy, disciplined men though they were; and in a strange and hostile country many of these poor fellows sank on the roadside, died, were hastily buried by the rude hands of soldiers, left to mould away in unmarked graves, and were forgotten. A truly melancholy fate! General Greene, under innumerable and humiliating difficulties, pursued the retreating victors for sixty miles with great spirit, but an unavoidable detention gave Cornwallis a day's advantage, and made the pursuit hopeless. The American General then turned his face towards South Carolina, and Cornwallis accomplished the remainder of his journey unmolested. In a letter written to General Phillips, April 24th, the British commander bemoans his situation [*vide* Tarleton's Campaigns, p. 328]. Greene had taken advantage of the Earl's necessity and marched into South Carolina, and the only thing left for the British to do was to turn their attention toward Virginia. This they did, and on the morning of April 25th the journey was begun which led them to their fate. The plan was that Cornwallis should unite the two branches of the army by meeting Phillips, the General of the "Convention troops," and Arnold, the traitor, at Petersburg. However, General Phillips died on the 13th of May, and the command of the forces fell upon Arnold, from whom it had formerly been taken on account of the contempt and hatred in

which he was held by the soldiery. On the 20th of May Cornwallis entered Petersburg, and the union between the two armies was effected. Cornwallis' chief design was to prevent the junction between General Wayne, who was approaching from the north with a large body of Continentals, and Lafayette, who was at that time in Richmond; but the intrepid young Marquis was entirely too old a bird to catch at the chaff thrown out by the English Earl, and, despite all the stratagems directed against him, fell back to Culpepper Court House, where he was joined by General Wayne and eight hundred men of the Pennsylvania line.

Foiled in this undertaking, Cornwallis directed his attention to two objects in another quarter. The first of these was Thomas Jefferson, whom General Phillips had contemptuously termed the "American Governor of Virginia," and the Legislature, then assembled at Charlottesville. Accordingly Tarleton was dispatched "with one hundred and eighty dragoons, supported by Captain Campagne of the Twenty-third Regiment and seventy mounted infantry," to catch the Governor and the lawmakers together. However, the future President of the United States escaped through a back door into the woods that encircled his mountain home, and the Legislature, at the approach of the British, disbanded to meet at a later date in Staunton. Seven members of this Assembly were, nevertheless, captured by the enemy.

The other design that occupied the mind of Cornwallis at this time was the seizing of the fort at the junction of the James and Rivanna Rivers, and known as the Point of Fork. At this place there was a large quantity of military stores, defended by Baron Steuben and, according to Burk (*History of Virginia*, Vol. IV., p. 496), six hundred new levies intended for the army in the south, with as many more militia under General Lawson, among whom was St. George Tucker, now elevated to the grade of lieutenant-colonel. In Marshall's *Life of Washington*, however, it is stated that there were between five and six hundred men under the Baron, together with a *few* of the militia, at the fort at this time. This latter statement is more nearly correct, to judge from these letters. Colonel Simcoe, with five hundred men, was detached by Cornwallis to attack this fort at the same time that Tarleton proceeded against the Sage of Monticello, Charlottesville, and the Conscript Fathers there assembled. When Simcoe reached the fort, to his great surprise he found it vacant and the forces under Baron Steuben stationed on the south bank of the James. The cause of this movement on the part of the Americans was the approach of Tarleton, which they supposed was directed against them. When the British found their prey was



nearly beyond their grasp, their commander resolved upon a stratagem which proved effectual beyond his expectations. The British forces were stretched in a long line upon the northern bank of the river, the baggage was placed upon the summit of a hill in a small body of woods, which mystified the amount, and numerous camp fires were lighted in every direction—and all this was done to lead the Prussian soldier to believe that the whole of the royal army was pursuing him. The unsuspecting Baron was completely duped. He ordered the boats to be destroyed, and in the middle of the night retreated, leaving behind him the greater part of the supplies which had been transported from the fort. Among the booty taken by the British were several brass howitzers, which were remounted at Yorktown, and there retaken by the Americans. These are supposed to be the same guns which were afterwards exhibited at the armory at Richmond. St. George Tucker's letters, which were resumed at this period, will now speak for themselves. The first was written at Callan's Ordinary, and has no date, but its contents plainly indicate the period at which it was written:

"The Baron is retreating from the Point of Fork, and proposes, as I hear, to go to Prince Edward Court House. This being the case, you will lose no time in endeavoring to remove yourself and our little ones out of the way. \* \* \* Be not alarmed, as you will have time to set out between this and twelve to-night."

Mrs. Tucker was residing at this time at a large plantation called Bizarre, lying on the north bank of the Appomattox River, just opposite Farmville. Mr. Edgar Ward, the artist, has spent much of the past summer in making a painting of this farm as a specimen of an old Virginia tobacco plantation. Upon the reception of the above laconic epistle, Mrs. Tucker, very much alarmed at the approach of an undisciplined and retreating army, retired to another plantation in Charlotte county. This plantation has since become celebrated by the name of Roanoke, the home of the eccentric John Randolph, who was Mrs. Tucker's youngest son by a former marriage. After the arrival of the fugitives at Roanoke, there came a letter saying that this refuge was unsafe. The British were at Buckingham Court House, marching southward. Hemmed in on one side by friends and on the other by foes, Mrs. Tucker was at a loss to find a place of safety for herself and five little children, when the following letter was received:

"PRINCE EDWARD C. H., Friday, half after six P. M.

"I wrote to you at one o'clock by Syphax (his body servant). I am now happy enough to inform you that there is not that necessity for your removing that I apprehended at that time. We have since received certain intelligence that the enemy are not at Buckingham Court House, nor

have they crossed James River any where but at the Point of Fork, and there only to the number of about one hundred. When I wrote; the Baron was apprehensive that they aimed at intercepting his baggage, and throwing themselves between him and the Roanoke. Had this been the case, you would have been in some danger; as it is not, you may be assured that you are in perfect security." \* \* \* \*

"CAMP AT WILKES' CREEK, THREE MILES BELOW CHARLOTTE COURT HOUSE,

June 10th, 1781.

"Your letter relieved me from a good deal of anxiety which I felt lest you should have set out before Guy reached you with my last letter. I am now very happy in reflecting that the alarm which my letter produced was of such short duration. \* \* \* The Baron took leave of me at eleven o'clock yesterday with these words:—'Perhaps I shall not have the pleasure of seeing you so soon again.' Accordingly at four o'clock the militia halted at this place, while the regulars proceeded on their march over the Roanoke. We have since received no further intelligence of the enemy, except that they had not crossed at Carter's Ferry at ten o'clock yesterday. Gen. Lawson is now at the Court House. If I can obtain leave to visit you when he returns, I shall be the bearer of this myself: otherwise, I shall subjoin a postscript, in which I shall give you the best account I am capable of, of what we expect to do. I am told that a general exchange has been agreed on between Gen. Greene and Lord Cornwallis relative to the southern department, and that our prisoners are to set out from Charlestown on board of flags on the 15th instant, to be delivered at James Town. Should this be the case, I shall be in hopes of seeing my brother [Dr. Thomas Tudor Tucker, then a prisoner at Charleston, afterwards Treasurer of the United States] before long. Kiss my poor little sick Harry for me, and give Fan a remembrance of the like nature to make up for my not giving her a like token of attachment when I parted from you in the road. Remember me tenderly to the boys."

Harry and Fan became respectively Judge Henry St. George Tucker, President of the Court of Appeals in Virginia, and Mrs. Judge Coalter. The boys were the three Randolphs, the children of Mrs. Tucker's first marriage.

"ORDINARY, CUMBERLAND CO., June 15th, 1781.

"As my last letter was the child of hunger, so this is in some measure the offspring of fatigue—the result of marching at one o'clock this morning before my first nap was well digested. However, as fatigue is more tolerable than hunger, you will probably receive a less laconic epistle than the last. \* \* \* \*

"I am now to give you the best account I can of our movements. The Baron's corps joined us last night at Prince Edward C. H., and to-morrow they are to march after us towards James river. The Baron himself is now down about Carter's Ferry reconnoitring. We have just received certain intelligence that Cornwallis moved down the river the day before yesterday as low as Goochland Court House; and I believe it may be relied on that the Marquis is moving towards James river, in order, I hope, to form a junction with the Baron and Lawson. But this is rather conjecture than the result of information, as we were only by report made acquainted with the fact that he had crossed the northern branch of the James river, about eight miles below Charlottesville, two days ago. \* \* \* \*

"As we do not know what is meant by this movement of his Lordship, I wish you to stand your ground until I can advise you to return to Bizarre, which—I flatter myself—will not be long. If the Marquis has a sufficient number of horse, I think he will be strong enough to attack him (Cornwallis) when the Baron and militia join him. Wayne certainly brought 1,200 excellent troops with him. Morgan has or will join in a few days with five hundred riflemen; and I presume Weeden

and Nelson are not without their numbers also. As to ours, we shall make 1,000 I presume, including the regulars. Perhaps the Cumberland and Powhatan militia may augment the numbers still more."

The next letter was dated at Camp near Mr. N. W. Dandridge's, Hanover Co., June 20th, 1781, but contains little of general interest, although in the intervening period the militia had joined Lafayette's army. The following extract is about all:

"Dr. Fayssoux will give you all the news of the camp, which I shall therefore omit, except that we arrived here yesterday. I have not yet had the honor of kissing the Marquis' hand, but as Skipwith and myself are just about to make our congés to him, Fayssoux will probably be able to tell you whether we are able to support ourselves under such a load of honor. If our hopes are confirmed, Cornwallis may in a few days be glad to retire before the Marquis; if our apprehensions, on the contrary, should be justly founded, I may perhaps wish you beyond the mountains. There is a fleet of thirty-four sail of transports arrived in James river. We are induced by circumstances to hope they were sent here empty from New York to convey the army to the relief of that place, which, we hear from *tolerable* authority, is invested by General Washington at the head of the grand army of the States and their allies. Should this conjecture prove false, and the ships bring reinforcement to my Lord, we may be obliged to retreat a second time. My ink is so much exhausted that I can with difficulty squeeze out as much from the cotton as will enable me to send my love to you all."

From the next letter, dated Bottom's Bridge, June 24th, I make only the following extract:

"We have now a considerable, not to call it a formidable, army. The British are moving down to Williamsburg, *we hear*. But whether this movement is a manœuvre or a retreat, is not for me to determine. Many are sanguine enough to fancy it the latter, while others are not wanting who put the former construction on their conduct. I have not time to add any more than my affectionate regards to you all, except that I think you may return to Bizarre for the present, always observing to hold yourselves in readiness for retreat if necessary. Poor Jack! [John Randolph of Roanoke] I am truly sorry for him on account of the lingering disorder with which he is pestered."

The next letter was written a few hours after the above, and at the same place, and contains a fuller account of the operations of the two armies:

"I wrote you a letter before daylight this morning, and sent it by a person whom I directed to call at Owen's Ferry on his way to Halifax County. As I was in some degree of hurry at that time, I omitted some trifling observations which may serve as chit-chat to fill up this letter.

"By Dr. Fayssoux I wrote you that we had joined the Marquis, but that I had not yet had the honor of seeing him. It is no longer the case, as I had that very evening that pleasure. We dined with him next day. But I have not had an opportunity of forming any fixed idea relative to him. He is tall, genteel, easy and affable, but his face does not appear to correspond perfectly with his person. He has a high forehead, is nearly bald—though very young—and his hair is rather sandy than auburn, though perhaps it may admit of a dispute. Thus much for his person. His extreme popularity renders the idea of his talents indisputable. I shall therefore offer nothing on that head, as it would be the highest presumption to imagine that a few moments could confer an intuitive knowledge of a great man.

"The next day I had the satisfaction of seeing the Pennsylvania Line on their march. They were a splendid and formidable corps. If the laurels which they win bear any proportion to the plumes they are adorned with, the heroes of antiquity will soon sink into oblivion. Were I a native of Laputa, with the assistance of a quadrant I might possibly calculate the altitude of that which nods over the brow of their General. Their military pride promises much, for the first step to make a good soldier is to entertain a consciousness of personal superiority; and this consciousness is said to prevail in the breasts of these men, even to the meanest private in the ranks.

"Our force—as I mentioned this morning—is respectable, not to say formidable. We have from 2,000 to 2,500 regular troops—including the new levies under the Baron—perhaps even a greater number. The militia from different quarters, I believe, will make the amount of our army between five and six thousand men. What number of horse or mounted infantry we have I am not acquainted with, but, as it is a prevailing idea that the enemy are not so formidable in cavalry as they have been represented, this matter is of less importance. Lord Cornwallis is supposed to be marching towards Williamsburg, and we shall lose no time in following him, I hope. Our army is in spirits, and our officers sanguine. What renders our situation still better is that no militia are to be discharged until a relief arrives from their several counties. Thus much for the army. \* \* \*

"CAMP, BEAVER DAM CREEK, NEW KENT CO.,  
23 miles above Williamsburg, June 28th, 1781.

"The whole of the enemy's army has retired to Williamsburg. We hear that they have had a reinforcement within these three or four days, but from whence, and what number, we have not been able to collect, though the fact, I believe, is not to be doubted. It is reported that they were embarking some of their baggage, but whether there is any foundation for this report is quite uncertain. There was a trifling skirmish between our advanced party and Simcoe three days ago, in which a few of the riflemen were hacked about the head, and in return, it is said, killed or wounded some of their antagonists, but I have not heard what number. We are lying pretty still at this place, and I am in hopes we shall continue to do so, as I do not think it would be very prudent for the Marquis to act offensively against an army whose numbers he is for the present unacquainted with. Indeed, I am persuaded he has no such intention. We want more men, for many of the militia have deserted lately, from a presumption that their time of duty had expired. Their conduct has been, in some instances, to the last degree infamous. I am not a little out of humor on that account. You will be surprised to see Hob [his horse] return with Col. Holcombe. He was taken with a violent inflammation in the eyes, and from that moment he has been utterly unfit for service. Rest, and rest alone, can recruit him.

The "trifling skirmish" mentioned in the above letter took place about six miles above Williamsburg, between a detachment of the Pennsylvania line under Col. Butler, who afterward fell in the defeat of St. Clair, and Lieut.-Col. Simcoe, who was returning from an expedition to the Chickahominy, where he had been sent to destroy boats and stores. Both the Americans and British claimed the victory, or rather the advantage, in this skirmish. Upwards of thirty were killed and wounded on each side, and the British took three officers and twenty-eight privates as prisoners. Simcoe then rejoined Cornwallis at Williamsburg, and Butler retired to the American army, which was lying about fifteen miles from the field of battle. Simcoe considered this engagement "the climax of a campaign of five years." [*Vide* Simcoe, p. 234.]

"EIGHTEEN MILES ABOVE WILLIAMSBURG, July 5th, 1781.

\* \* \* "I do not recollect that any very material occurrence has taken place in our own army since that time (*i. e.*, when he last wrote), except the *feu de joie* with which yesterday was celebrated as the anniversary of independence. I shall not be surprised if fame should tell the little world around that we had a most bloody battle, in which numbers of heroes fell victims to the rage of war. But happily no blood was spilt on that occasion, although the morning was ushered in by an unlucky accident which may possibly cost Skipwith's Major Purcell his arm or his life. He was shot in his tent by a gun which was discharged by a careless soldier, and was wounded in the body and in the arm, in the joint of which the ball is now lodged. It is feared he will lose the use of his arm, even if an amputation is not necessary.

"At an entertainment given by the Marquis yesterday, I had the pleasure of seeing Colonel Stewart, who very politely enquired after you. He is the same pretty fellow that he ever was, and wears a plume almost as large as Gen. Wayne's himself. I wrote you before that the Pennsylvania line abounded in these decorations. I will venture to affirm that all the ostriches that ever appeared on the table of Helioabalus would be insufficient to furnish the whole army in the same profuse style. They put me in mind of the army marching to Dunsinane when mistaken by Macbeth for Birnam wood; for the feathers appear before you can well discover the shoulders to which the head that supports them is annexed. We had a splendid entertainment, and, in order to assist digestion, marched from sunset till the break of day.

"The enemy have certainly quitted Williamsburg. We are told they are embarking at James Town, but whether this is really the case, or whether they mean only to cross to the other side of the river, is a mystery. No news of the Charleston fleet. Order Tony to pay the utmost attention to Hob, who is now on my list of pensioners. His services demand it."

"WILLIAMSBURG, July 11th, 1781.

"My ever dear Fanny: Could I have entertained a doubt of the propriety of my conduct in endeavoring to remove you beyond the reach of the British army, the sight of this unhappy spot must immediately have removed it. The traces of British cruelty were but faint as they marched through the country. Here they remained for some days, and with them pestilence and famine took root, and poverty brought up the rear. Instead of attempting a florid description of the horrors of this place, I will endeavor to give you an account of the situations of a few individuals with whom you are acquainted. Our friend Madison and his lady (they have lost their son) were turned out of their house to make room for Lord Cornwallis. Happily the College afforded them an asylum. They were refused the small privilege of drawing water from their own well. A contemptuous treatment, with the danger of starving, were the only evils which he recounted, as none of his servants left him. The case was otherwise with Mr. McClung. He has no small servant left, and but two girls. He feeds and saddles his own horse, and is philosopher enough to enjoy the good that springs from the absence of the British, without repining at what he lost by them. Poor Mr. Cocke was deserted by his favorite man, Clem; and Mrs. Cocke, by the loss of her cook, is obliged to have recourse to her neighbours to dress her dinner for her. They have but one little boy—who is smaller than Tom—left to wait on them within doors. I believe they are as badly off without. The old gentleman talks of going to Cumberland, as he says he is now entirely ruined. But this is not all. The smallpox, which the hellish polling of these infamous wretches has spread in every place through which they have passed, has now obtained a crisis throughout the place, so that there is scarcely a person to be found well enough to nurse those who are most afflicted by it. Your old friend Aunt Betty is in that situation. A child of Sir Peyton Skipwith, who is with her, was deserted by its nurse; and the good old lady was left without a human being to assist her in any respect for some days. As the British plundered all that they could, you will conceive how great an appearance of wretchedness this place must exhibit. To add to the catalogue of mortifications, they constrained all the inhabitants of the town to take paroles. After tyrannizing ten



days here, they went to James Town, where they were attacked by our advanced parties. In a letter which I wrote you the other day, I gave you an exaggerated account of the skirmish, for it deserves no higher epithet. Our loss, as I was informed by the best authority, was thirty-two killed and missing and fifty-three wounded. Of the missing seventeen were left by the British at James Town, badly wounded. It is suspected by many that the British did not lose more men than we did. Thus, what I represented to you in a former letter as a very important affair, turns out to be little more than a fray. The British have since crossed at Cobham, and their ships have gone down the river. Our army is in motion. I am told we are to cross at Hood's. But I shall not join them for some days, for a reason which you will be acquainted with in the sequel. Among the plagues the British left in Williamsburg, that of flies is inconceivable. It is impossible to eat, drink, sleep, write, sit still, or even walk about in peace on account of their confounded stings. Their numbers exceed all description, unless you look into the eighth chapter of Exodus for it.

"A flag from Charlestown came to James Town the night before last. I went thither immediately; and was happy enough to hear that my brother is actually arrived at Hampton, being on board a hospital ship. For want of pilots, or *for some other reason*, the rest of the fleet have not come up the river yet. I shall remain here, unless peremptorily ordered to join the army, until poor Tom comes up. Gen. Moultrie, with his lady, is well. They are to set out for Philadelphia soon in a private flag. All our brethren who were taken at Charlestown, including those sent to St. Augustine, are either exchanged or paroled to any part of America not within twelve miles of a British army. The wives and children of all these are to be sent out of Charlestown in a few weeks. The number of those men who basely took paroles in Charlestown is too great. Tell — her favorite niece is under close confinement in Gen. Greene's army, having been detected in endeavoring to go into Ninety-six with dispatches of very great importance. The detection of these dispatches has given our old General more pleasure than anything of the kind. I know not whether our laws will hang a lady, but if they would — — seems, from what I am told, to have merited that fate. Mr. Starke is at length on parole in Charlestown. His further enlargement is to be the subject of a further discussion between Gen. Greene and Lord Cornwallis. We have no further news. \* \* \* \*

"Tell my poor boys (the Randolphs) that I am unhappy whenever I think of the valuable time they are losing. Beg Dick in my name to set his brother a good example by minding his book; and tell them I am sure they will follow it. Poor fellows! I am more anxious for them than they will ever believe at a future day. Remember me with a tenderness truly parental to them, for such they may be assured I feel towards them." \* \* \* \*

"Our friend Madison" was the Bishop of Virginia, at that time President of William and Mary College. He resided at the President's House, which stands in the college grounds, to the left of the college itself, and but a short distance from it. In the above letter it is stated that he was ejected to make room for Lord Cornwallis, from which I infer that the Earl made this building his headquarters. I have searched various authorities on the subject, but can find no mention of such an occurrence. Bishop Madison and Judge Tucker were intimate and strong friends, both before and after the Revolution, as the letters that passed between them testify, and on that account, if no other, I consider these Revolutionary letters good authority in this instance. The President's House is a building of great historic interest. Its foundation was laid on the 31st of July, 1732. The Rev.

Mr. (Commissary) Blair, then President of the college; the Rev. Thomas Dawson, afterwards Commissary of Virginia and fourth President of the college; Joshua Fry, Professor of Mathematics, and afterwards a Colonel, under whom Washington served; the Rev. William Stith, who became the third President of the college, and wrote a history of Virginia; and a Mr. Fox, Master of the Indian School, placed the first five bricks in regular order, one after another. During the Revolution it was occupied at different times by the British, French and Americans. While it was in the hands of the French it was burned, although the walls were not materially injured. Louis XVI., however, caused it to be restored, and at the same time made a handsome donation of five or six hundred volumes to the College library. These volumes, together with "many curious and rare books, with some manuscripts, chiefly presented by Kings, Archbishops, Bishops and Governors, and the cabinet of apparatus, in which were instruments more than a century old, the gift of the Colonial House of Burgesses," were destroyed in 1859, when the college was for the second time consumed by the devouring flames. The President's House is, I believe, the only building in this country erected at the private cost of a reigning sovereign.

James McClung, the second sufferer from the ravages of the British mentioned by St. George Tucker, was Professor of Anatomy and Medicine in the College of William and Mary.

With regard to the name of the lady who was detected in traitorous designs at the siege of Ninety-six, I propose to give no clue, as I cannot find her name given in any history containing an account of her performances, and I have consulted a great number. On that account I have suppressed all names given in this letter which appertain to that occurrence. The lady's family was a good one, and was connected and brought into daily contact with the first families of Virginia.

The next letter was dated at Williamsburg, Sept. 5th, 1781. For a long time I was unable to account for the interruption in the correspondence, but at last I by accident chanced to examine some letters written at this period by Mrs. Tucker to her husband, and in one dated September 7th I found a solution of the mystery. In that letter she said: "It has now been two weeks since we parted." How did they meet, and where? is the next question. After consulting many dusty tomes, I found that the militia received a discharge in the month of July. Their reprieve, however, was of short duration, as their services were required to assist at the siege of Yorktown, and to share the honors of that illustrious event.

"WILLIAMSBURG, Sept. 5th, 1781.

"Let every heart exult with joy and gratitude to that Providence whose arm, I trust, is now raised to protect and defend our country, and establish peace and happiness in the stead of those cruelties and oppressions under which the miserable inhabitants of the Southern States have groaned for a tedious length of time. Let us by our own exertions endeavor to merit those blessings which nothing but the adverse interposition of a superior Being can, in all human probability, now wrest from our hands!

"Let every honest Whig, every American who dares avow himself a friend to the liberties of his country, and every miserable wretch who has felt the horrors of this war, now raise his voice in praise of that Prince whose vigorous arm is held forth to raise us from the deepest distress to the pinnacle of glory, and to restore us to peace and confirm us in independence! Let every aged parent, every tender mother, every helpless orphan, every blooming virgin, and every infant tongue unite, and with one voice cry out, 'God save Louis the Sixteenth!'

"Again, let all these join, and with hearts glowing with grateful acknowledgments to their protector, their deliverer, and the saviour of their country, implore an uninterrupted profusion of blessings on the head of the glorious and immortal WASHINGTON!

"Thus much for rant! But, to a heart overflowing with the most happy presages of felicity, nothing is more difficult than to avoid giving vent to its ebullitions. To you—and it is to you alone that I address myself—I need not apologize for any extravagance of sentiment or of diction that this letter contains. Hear then, my Fanny, from me what perhaps you have not heard yet from good authority. About the middle of last week twenty-nine ships of the line and four frigates arrived in our bay, with four thousand land forces sent to our assistance by Louis the Great. Besides these there are three thousand marines to be landed in case of an emergency. Of the fleet there are ten sixty-fours; eighteen seventy-fours, and one ship of an hundred and ten guns! A fleet of twelve sail of the line has arrived in the West Indies to keep the enemy still employed in that quarter. Of the troops, three thousand five hundred landed at James Town three days ago, and are now on their march to this city. Five hundred are left on board to land at York river. The fleet lies from Lynnhaven bay to the mouth of York river, and some, *we are informed*, have proceeded within two or three miles of the town. The British fleet still lies at York, and their land forces are now in the town. The Count de Grasse, by a flag, declared to the Admiral or the Commodore of the British fleet that he would put every man to the sword who should fall into his hands if the fleet was destroyed. *This from report*. Lord Rawdon is actually a prisoner on board the French fleet, having been taken on his way to London with all his plunder. Gov. Bull of Charlestown is in the like predicament. Our troops lie from four miles beyond this town to near James Town; so that Cornwallis is as effectually hemmed in as our troops were in Charlestown. Our force may now be reckoned to be eight thousand men—of which six thousand are regulars—exclusive of the marines whom I mentioned above. Nor is this all, for, to my great surprise and pleasure, I was this morning informed from undoubted authority that General Washington is at the Head of Elk with five thousand troops, which are to be embarked from thence in transports sent there for that purpose, of which the Marquis last night received official accounts from General Washington in a letter dated at Chatham. I have not yet done. The French fleet of ten line of battle ships, which lay at Rhode Island, are now actually on their way hither, and are daily expected. Whether the Count de Rochambeau, with his troops, is on board, I know not, nor, indeed, is it very material, I conceive. If after such a torrent of good news I could wish to add another article, it would be that Lord Cornwallis, with his whole army, were in our possession. But this I hope in that providence to which I prostrate myself with grateful adoration for the present happy aspect of our affairs, will be the subject of some future letter; or that I may, to the happiness of seeing you again, add that of being able to give you the first notice of so important and so happy an event. My paper would blush to contain matters of lesser moment after what I have written."

The next letter, written Sept. 6th, is nothing more than a recapitulation of the events chronicled in its predecessor, with the following addition :

"Our army lies from the half-way house—six miles below Williamsburg on the Yorktown road—to Green Spring [celebrated as the home of Sir William Berkeley]. The enemy are fortifying York. Their fleet must inevitably fall. And, unless our own ill conduct prevents it, or the immediate hand of providence interposes in behalf of Lord Cornwallis and his army, there is not a doubt but we shall have a *Burgoyne-ade* in Virginia. Let those who dared to revile the French alliance now show their faces, if they can look up with confidence after so glorious an interposition of providence in behalf of America; as such a fleet and such an army—at so critical a juncture—manifests. My spirits are elevated to the highest pitch at the happy prospect now before us; for certainly the affairs of America never wore a more promising aspect than at this moment. The hopes of the whole British nation are centred in Lord Cornwallis. From his exertions they entertain not a doubt of the subjugation of all the Southern States. Yet in the very moment that their gazettes are filled with vaunting predictions of the absolute reduction of those States, to find them wrested out of their hands again, and their whole army—in which such confidence was reposed—captivated, must inevitably open their eyes, and convince them that a speedy peace with America is the only method of healing the deadly wounds which their country has received from the prosecution of the war.

"A militia officer, with eight horsemen, last night took an officer and six privates of the mounted infantry. The officer acknowledged that they were extremely uneasy at the clouds which seemed to gather round them and threatened nothing less than destruction from every quarter. Never was a man more sanguine than I am at this moment. To behold the means of ridding ourselves of such infernal enemies in our own hands, and to reflect that the first General in the universe is at hand to direct our operations, afford a prospect as happy as that of Lord Cornwallis is dreadful. May that providence which seems to interpose at this moment on our side, confirm our hopes!"

" WILLIAMSBURG, Sept. 14th, 1781

\* \* \* "The day or day after my last letter was written, a British fleet of fourteen sail of the line appeared off our capes. The Count de Grasse immediately dispatched twenty-two ships in pursuit of them. Four very soon came up with them and sustained a most heavy fire until ten others had also come up. The remaining eight had not yet reached their destined place when the night put an end to Capt. Lilly's observations, who went out in a small boat to reconnoitre. *I am told* that he says one British ship had struck to the French, and that the rest were flying from the victorious Count. Since that time we *have a report* that a schooner lately arrived brings advices that the fleets were seen the next morning—the French still in pursuit, having captured two of the British line. Certain it is the French have not returned; from which it is concluded that they have continued the pursuit to New York, where, perhaps, they may continue to block them up, should it not be judged necessary for them to return hither to join in the reduction of York. We have still six line of battle ships remaining with us, which, when joined by those from Rhode Island, may be sufficient for any purposes we want.

"General Washington is not yet arrived. He is certainly to bring eight thousand—I am told nine thousand—regular troops with him, including the Count de Rochambeau's troops. As soon as this junction is formed, I imagine we shall proceed to business. We shall then have no doubt of the honor of entertaining Lord Cornwallis & Co. in a different character from that in which they have sometimes been our guests, as our regular army at the lowest computation will amount to fourteen thousand five hundred men. The militia—to their eternal shame—have not yet turned out in any numbers, so as to challenge to themselves the smallest share of the honor and glory of reducing an enemy who has ravaged their country hitherto with perfect impunity. We shall be

reviled for our pusillanimity, or our lethargic indifference to the calls of Liberty, Honor, Glory, and even Victory, who seems now standing in front of our army with her sword ready brandished to smite the foe whenever we give the word to battle. Rant!

"By what channel I know not—but we heard from York yesterday that the British had received an account there of an attack made on West Point, in which they were repulsed with the loss of fifteen hundred men—among whom was the infamous Arnold, who fell before those works on which he would have been executed, had not Fate too partially decreed him the death of a soldier instead of that of a traitor. I do not know that any confidence is to be placed on this story. In telling it, therefore, it would not be proper to consider it as any thing more than vague report; yet I received it from Andrews, who, you know, is in the Governor's family, and possesses his unlimited confidence. \* \* \*

"The vague report" concerning the death of Arnold had of course no foundation; unless the storming of Fort Griswold, which took place about the time that this letter was written, gave birth to the rumor. It simply proves that the human race possessed as great facilities for circulating reports in 1781 as they do at the present day."

WILLIAMSBURG, Sept. 15th, 1781

\* \* \* "Amidst the late gloom the dawn of Happiness now appears, and the smiling prospect of Peace begins to be discovered. Can you assign a reason, my Fanny, why my style in several of my late letters so often breaks out into bombast? I wish I could avoid what I so cordially condemn; but I find that I am imperceptibly led from the exultation of mind, which I have for a fortnight experienced, to burst out into a turgid manner of writing which I condemn no less in myself than in others. I will endeavor to drop it, though my Fanny is the only person to whom I address myself. But if against my present resolution I should again transgress, let her impute it to those warm emotions which I find it sometimes difficult to suppress.

"I wrote you yesterday that General Washington had not yet arrived. About four o'clock in the afternoon his approach was announced. He had passed our camp—which is now in the rear of the whole army—before we had time to parade the militia. The French line had just time to form. The Continentals had more leisure. He approached without any pomp or parade, attended only by a few horsemen and his own servants. The Count de Rochambeau and Gen. Hand, with one or two more officers, were with him. I met him as I was endeavoring to get to camp from town, in order to parade the brigade; but he had already passed it. To my great surprise he recognized my features and spoke to me immediately by name. Gen. Nelson, the Marquis, &c., rode up immediately after. Never was more joy painted in any countenances than theirs. The Marquis rode up with precipitation, clasped the General in his arms, and embraced him with an ardor not easily described. The whole army and all the town were presently in motion. The General—at the request of the Marquis de St. Simon—rode through the French lines. The troops were paraded for the purpose, and cut a most splendid figure. He then visited the Continental line. As he entered the camp the cannon from the park of artillery and from every brigade announced the happy event. His train by this time was much increased; and men, women, and children seemed to vie with each other in demonstrations of joy, and eagerness to see their beloved countryman. His quarters are at Mr. Wythe's (George Wythe, signer of the Declaration of Independence) house. Aunt Betty has the honor of the Count de Rochambeau to lodge at her house. We are all alive and so sanguine in our hopes that nothing can be conceived more different than the countenances of the same men at this time and on the first of June. The troops which were to attend the General are coming down the bay; a part—if not all—being already embarked at the Head of Elk. Cornwallis may now tremble for his fate, for nothing but some extraordinary



interposition of his guardian angels seems capable of saving him and his whole army from captivity. As I wish you to participate of every happiness and even every amusement that our country can afford, I beg you would prepare yourself for a trip to Williamsburgh should a similar event to that which brought you here four years ago, give occasion to similar expressions of joy. I assure you I am serious in this request. And should such an event take place I shall be among the first to propose every public demonstration of joy that our situation will admit of, and by no means confine my ideas of general pleasure to our sex. In this case I shall ride post to bring you down. You will, however, for obvious reasons, suppress this part of my letter.

"Since I wrote what follows, a confirmation of the news it contains has arrived. The French fleet brought in the Richmond and Iris, British frigates."

This last passage, with the one which follows inclosed in brackets, was written between the lines after the letter was completed.

"We have no other news worth relating. *It is said*, indeed, that the Count de Grasse has returned with more ships in his fleet than he sailed with. *It is also said* that the Rhode Island fleet has arrived. But neither of these pieces of intelligence are by any means authentic; nor do I believe the smallest confidence is placed in them from the channel through which they were conveyed. Yet neither of them is in the least improbable. On the contrary, they are such as may be reasonably expected; and for this reason, perhaps, it happens that the report has taken place.

("The Rhode Island fleet, I can now tell you, is certainly arrived, and the Count de Grasse returned.")

In the foregoing letters we have seen how, by degrees, the army which invested and captured Yorktown drifted together. First, after the retreat from the Point of Fork, when the militia under Gen. Lawson and the levied troops under Baron Steuben, which were intended for the reinforcement of Gen. Greene, separated, we saw those two bodies come together again with another purpose. In northern Virginia we saw Gen. Wayne, with eight hundred Continentals of the Pennsylvania line, effect a junction with the gallant young Marquis whom Cornwallis contemptuously termed "the boy." Soon after, we saw Lafayette and Wayne, and Steuben and Lawson, unite above Richmond and move down the peninsula on the track of the retreating British. At last, in the ancient and illustrious city of Williamsburg, we welcomed the arrival of Washington and Rochambeau, with the combined armies of France and America. Just before this we saw the Count de Grasse, with a fleet from the West Indies, glide into the Chesapeake, where he was joined soon after by the Count de Barras, with a naval force from Rhode Island. Slowly and surely these separate bodies came together and formed one black cloud, which lowered and finally broke in all its fury and vengeance over the head of the doomed army of Cornwallis.

There now follow three letters written in close succession, which, however, contain nothing to interest the general public, and are, on that

account, omitted. One of these letters contains a specimen of Judge Tucker's muse, which, however, accomplished some more finished and attractive works, one of which elicited some wonderful encomiums from the elder Adams.

[WILLIAMSBURG] "Sept. 24th [1781]

"I have not a word of news. Our army is every day arriving from the northward, but we are not yet in motion towards York. I forgot that a British Colonel was brought to town to-day, having been taken by a single man—there were two others near, I am told—yesterday, as he was taking an airing in his chair a few miles below York, on the Hampton road."

"WILLIAMSBURG, Sept. 27th, 1781.

"The army is to march at five o'clock in the morning. \* \* \* We have now the most formidable army assembled that, I believe, has ever been commanded at any one time by Gen. Washington since the commencement of the war. I estimate our force at about sixteen thousand men, of which thirteen thousand five hundred are regular troops—and of these seven thousand are the flower of the armies of the King of France. No troops on earth, I believe, can surpass them for bodily strength, agility, discipline and dexterity, in performing their manoeuvres. Independent of these, we have a number of militia in Gloucester with the Duke de Lauzun's legion of horse and infantry, and about a thousand militia at Swann's Point, and near the same number at other posts on that side of James river, which are now ordered over to join the army on this side the river. With such an army what have we not to hope! I flatter myself that this campaign will, in the most brilliant manner, conclude the war in America. For, if our successes in this quarter in any degree correspond with those of our worthy and exalted Gen. Greene, Britain, in spite of her obduracy, must be convinced of the futility of prosecuting a war so disgraceful to her arms, so destructive to her honor, and so ruinous to her nation. Gen. Greene's late success will immortalize his name. The enemy, in killed, wounded and prisoners, lost one thousand and ten men. Of these upwards of seven hundred were left on the field either killed or wounded. The remainder were made prisoners unwounded. Our loss was also very great. I hear it amounted to near three hundred in killed and wounded. Among these were the greater part of the gallant Washington's corps, every officer of which—except Capt. Parsons—was either killed or wounded. Washington himself, in the midst of a severe charge, had his horse killed, was wounded and taken prisoner. He is enlarged on parole. Col. Campbell of Virginia was killed. Major Edmunds was wounded. Several other officers of distinction shared the same fate. I believe this account is so near the truth that some degree of confidence, if not the *greatest*, may be placed in it—at least as to the general event of the day.

"I have no other news to entertain you with. In a few days I hope matters will begin to ripen here, and that my future letters will continue to be filled with intelligence of the most agreeable nature, until the grand object of our hopes is finally attained." \* \* \*

"CAMP BEFORE YORK, Oct. 5th, 1781

\* \* \* "The day after we took post at our present encampment, about two miles below York, the enemy evacuated several redoubts which they had thrown up on an advantageous piece of ground within point blank shot of their main works. These we immediately took possession of, and such as were calculated for our purpose have been added to them, while others are constructing in places better adapted to the business of commanding their works. They have in the meantime saluted us now and then with their cannon, but to very little purpose, as our men work under cover. In a day or two it is expected we shall return the compliment with interest.

"The day before yesterday Tarleton, having crossed the river in the night, made an excursion into Gloucester with 200 horse and 400 infantry. They were repulsed by the Duke de Lauzun's legion and about 150 militia, with a loss of fifty men killed and wounded. Among

the former was the officer who commanded the infantry, and Tarleton himself was among the latter, and, it is said, is badly wounded. *We are told* that his men rode over him in the precipitancy of their flight, and bruised him very much. Our loss was three hussars (French dragoons) killed, and eleven, with an officer, wounded. Lord Cornwallis has in a great measure confessed his weakness, by giving up his advanced works without opposition, and his despair, by destroying about four hundred horses, which may be seen floating about in the river or lying dead on the shore.

"By letters from Gen. Greene, he appears to have obtained a very complete, but at the same time a dear-bought, victory. Our loss amounted to five hundred and twenty-five men in killed, wounded and missing. Of these 395 were Continentals. The enemy, including prisoners, lost above thirteen hundred men. Five hundred were made prisoners. So bloody, and at the same time so glorious, a victory, has scarcely ever crowned the American arms before. If our success here should correspond with his at the south, I have no doubt that a speedy peace must be the result of the present campaign. We have every thing to hope, and less than we ever had heretofore to fear. In short, I think nothing but the intervention of a superior providence can save the British army in York; for should they attempt a retreat, we have four thousand men in Gloucester—of which 2,300 are French troops—to check their progress. In thirty days from the opening of our batteries I am sanguine enough to hope that we shall see the British standard laid at the feet of the Commander-in-Chief of the allied armies. Then welcome domestic bliss, and all the joys of uninterrupted peace! It is that hope alone which could surmount the objections I have to a life which tears me from all I love, and robs me of that felicity—for the want of which no terrestrial good can atone."

\* \* \* \* \*

"CAMP BEFORE YORK, Oct. 15th, 1781

\* \* \* "On Tuesday evening our works were opened on the enemy, and since that time have retaliated on them by returning the fire with interest, which they have so long pestered us with. Last night we stormed two important redoubts, and the French made a like attack with equal success on a third. Our works, which are now creating within two hundred yards of theirs, will probably be opened this evening—and then, my Lord, look out for your head. We took a major and a few other prisoners. I do not know how many the French took, for it is so early in the morning I have had no opportunity of enquiring the particulars of the storm, of which I was an eye-witness at the distance of five hundred yards. It was a most grateful sight, I assure you.

"The Secretary has come out of York. He is of opinion that they (the British) are very uneasy, although he can form no opinion of their resources for holding out a siege. However, I think those resources immaterial, as our works are so important that it is morally impossible the garrison can hold out. We have now possession of two redoubts which command the river. By means of red-hot balls we burnt the Charon—a forty-four gun ship—the Guadalupe—a twenty-eight gun ship—and four or five other vessels three or four nights past. The French ships are expected up the first fair wind. Every thing since the commencement of the siege has gone on as well as the most sanguine expectations would have suggested. We have lost very few men, and our works have been carried on with surprising spirit."

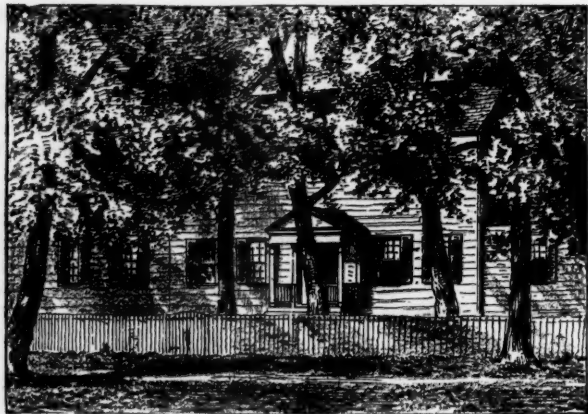
\* \* \* \* \*

Secretary Nelson—mentioned in the above letter—resided at Yorktown. His house was occupied as headquarters by Lord Cornwallis during the siege, and the aged Secretary was permitted to retire to the American camp. No vestige of it remains. General Nelson (the nephew of the Secretary) had also just completed an elegant mansion in the town. Seeing that the gunners avoided firing upon it, he

requested that the guns be turned in that direction; and a cavity made in its walls by the passage of a cannon ball is still exhibited to visitors. This historic building, still standing, is occupied by the descendants of this illustrious patriot of the Revolution, who at the time was in command of the Virginia troops as Governor of the State.

We have now read the last letter of this highly interesting series. What followed the events chronicled in them we all know. On the nineteenth day of October next the country will celebrate the one hundredth anniversary of the surrender of Lord Cornwallis to the American Commander, at the mention of whose name every loyal heart throbs with pride. The years which have rolled away since seventeen hundred and eighty-one have been eventful years. Through them our country has advanced in every blessing showered on man by Almighty God, a prosperous and a united people, until in our own time, when brother met brother as foe meets foe. But in October next the North and the South will come together and clasp hands on the spot where, one hundred years before, their ancestors, with the generous assistance of the French, wrenched from England its last hold of dominion over the Thirteen States.

CHARLES WASHINGTON COLEMAN, JR.



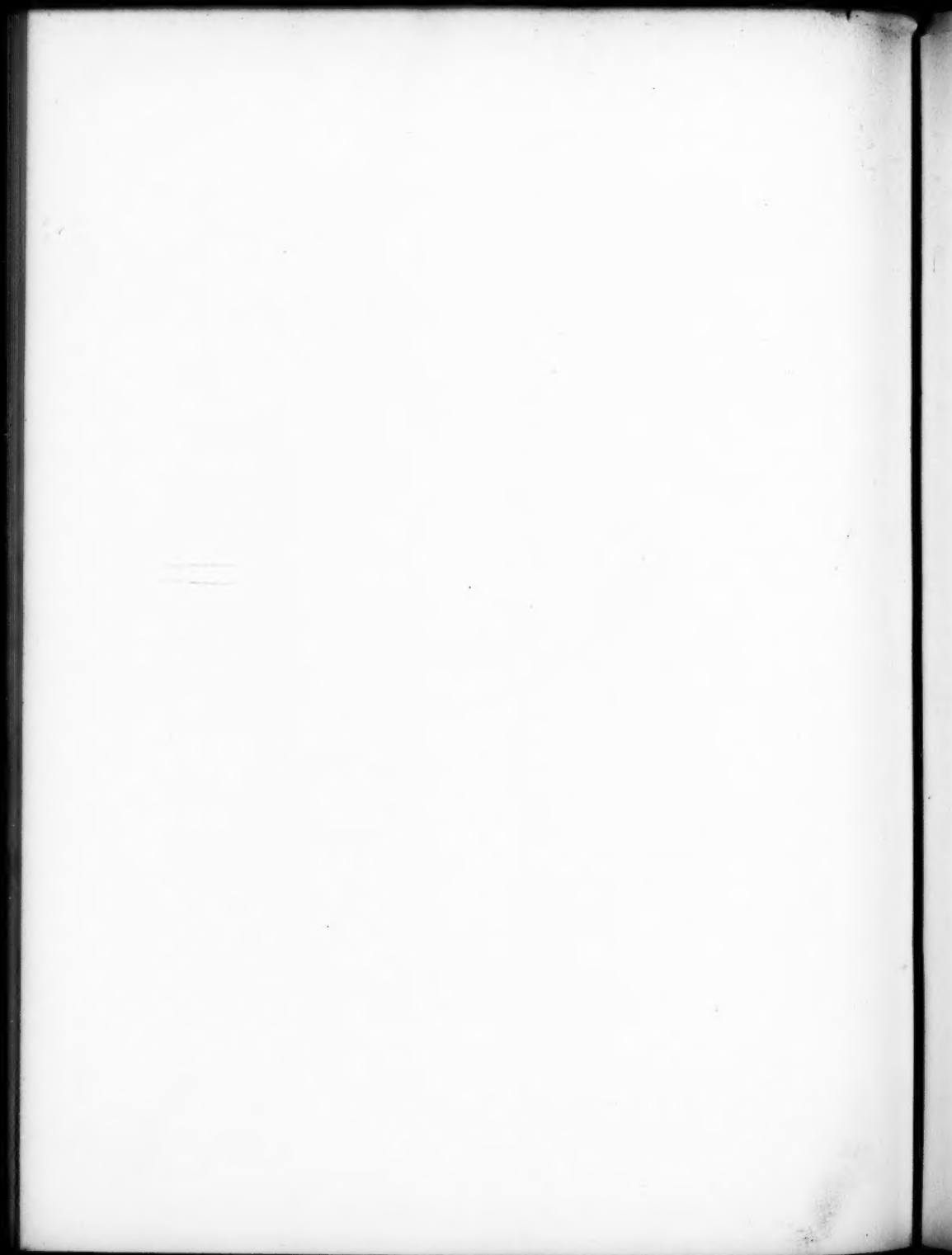
THE TUCKER HOUSE—WILLIAMSBURG, VIRGINIA



JACOB TRAWDOLPH of JOANNOINE

Eng'd by J. C. Smith New York





## ST. MÉMIN PORTRAITS

### ST. GEORGE TUCKER, JUDGE OF THE U. S. DISTRICT COURT FOR VIRGINIA

St. George Tucker, whose revolutionary career is recorded in letters which have laid dormant for an hundred years, lived to a ripe old age. The years succeeding the excitement of war were not passed by him in idleness; but through them all he continued to rise to positions of trust and dignity in his profession. Although he never became a man of national eminence he was held in high respect and esteem by the people of his own State, as the important offices to which he was appointed are ample proof. This was more to be prized in his day, when exaltation was a criterion of merit, than national *position* in our time. He was one of the commissioners to the convention which in 1786 met at Annapolis, Maryland, and recommended the convention by which the present constitution of the United States was formed. In 1787, at the early age of thirty-four, he was elevated to the office of a judge of the General Court; and in the following year was elected a visitor to William and Mary College, which university soon after conferred upon him the honorary degree of LL. D. Twelve years later he was chosen to occupy the chair of law in the same institution, which was left vacant by the death of his venerable friend and guide in his professional studies, George Wythe, whose name, inscribed upon the Declaration of Independence, shall be handed down to remotest posterity. In 1804 he succeeded Edmund Pendleton, President of the Court of Appeals of Virginia, just when that body was considering the question of divorce between Church and State. However, he resigned his seat on that bench at the expiration of six years, withdrawing into private life on account of his age and indifferent health. But he was not long allowed to remain in retirement. In January, 1813, President Madison, unsolicited by Judge Tucker, proffered him the commission of Judge of the District Court for the district of Virginia. After much hesitation the position was accepted and retained by Judge Tucker until his death. Thus much for his legal career. That he held lofty positions in his profession leaves no doubt as to his ability as a jurist; that he was appointed to succeed George Wythe and Edmund Pendleton in offices of grave importance proves that his ability was recognized and appreciated; that he was endowed with first one honor and then another shows that he did his duty.

We are next to consider our subject in a political point of view.

This is soon done. Judge Tucker was an enthusiast on the subject of liberty, a condition that he was desirous all should enjoy. To this end he published in 1796 "A Dissertation on Slavery: with a Proposal for the Gradual Abolition of it in the State of Virginia." In this work he unreservedly expressed his dislike of slavery, pointed out clearly why it existed in the South and not in the North, and—as its title implies—advanced a theory for its gradual abolition in the State of Virginia. This rare pamphlet was reprinted in New York, 1861, "not to favor the schemes of political parties, but simply to show what were the opinions of a distinguished professor and jurist of the Old Dominion" sixty-five years previously. Judge Tucker was thoroughly imbued with the republicanism of the revolutionary period, and with violent detestation of the British government, which was to his mind the pseudonym of oppression. He regarded Washington as little less than a deity, and generally celebrated the Fourth of July by an elaborate ode, more characterized by patriotism than poetic fire.

In the literary world Judge Tucker is now little known. The great mass of his writings is still unpublished and, probably, will never be. He left a number of dramas—tragedy and comedy—and a large stock of unarranged shorter poems, some of which still exist in manuscript; but they belong to a day that is dead. However, in this heap of matter are bits of gold that shine out brilliantly amid the verses written for a past generation, and for no other. One of these gems John Adams extravagantly admired, and in a letter to Richard Rush, then Controller of the Treasury, he thus wrote of it: "I know not which to admire most, its simplicity, its beauty, its pathos, its philosophy, its morality, its religion, or its sublimity. Is there in Homer, in Virgil, in Milton, in Shakespeare, or in Pope an equal number of lines which deserve to be engraven on the memory of youth and age in more indelible characters? If there is, pray extract it for me. I had rather be the author of it than of Joel Barlow's Columbiad, or his intended history of the United States. Nay, than the Life of Washington, Gordon's, Ramsay's and Warren's Histories." The poem referred to contains but three short verses, is entitled "Resignation," and—of its kind—is true poetry. This, with several others, although comparatively little known, is worthy to live beside the songs of greater poets. Besides these lighter efforts, Judge Tucker prepared an annotated edition of Blackstone's Commentaries published in 1803, and a pamphlet entitled "How far the Common Law of England is the Common Law of the United States;" also various papers on the politics of the period. The edition of Blackstone—never generally known beyond the Potomac—has been gradually

superseded by editions of later years, noticeable among which is that of Henry St. George Tucker, the eldest son of our subject. The political pamphlets are of course of small interest now except to the antiquarian or the historian. All these works upon which he bestowed time, talent and care will live but to the two or three; and the medium by which he will be known to the general public is this series of letters, intended by their author only for the eyes of his wife. In addition to the works mentioned above, Judge Tucker published in 1796 a volume of political satires, with the following title: "The Probationary Odes of Jonathan Pindar, Esq. A Cousin of Peter's, and Candidate for the Post of Poet Laureat to the C. U. S. In two parts."

Socially Judge Tucker was a bright star in a constellation composed of such men as William Wirt, Bishop Madison, Beverley Randolph, Gov. Page, Benjamin Harrison, the signer of the Declaration of Independence, and many others of equal renown; men who belonged to a society never surpassed in America. Between William Wirt and himself a constant correspondence was sustained, even while the former was burdened with affairs of State and no time was his own. Many poetical effusions "written during the intervals of business and stolen moments," upon which "my dear Tucker" was urged to express his candid opinion were constantly forwarded by the Attorney-General to his friend, and they still exist. However, they would add little fame to that already gained by the biographer of Patrick Henry. Judge Tucker also wrote many numbers of the "Old Bachelor," but whether they were ever published I cannot tell. They are certainly not included in the volume published by Mr. Wirt. With James Madison, first Bishop of Virginia, and President of William and Mary College, Judge Tucker was on the most intimate terms. Before the revolution a brisk correspondence was carried on between them; and the letters written to his friend by the worthy divine—when he was in London awaiting consecration, are exceedingly interesting. With Beverley Randolph he went through the war of Independence, with Governor Page he had constant communication, and a quaint gold watch—the gift of Benjamin Harrison, of Berkeley—was long preserved by his descendants. These men are simply mentioned to give an idea of a Virginia social circle in "ye olden tyme."

The history of a man's domestic life is generally the most interesting and the most sought after. It is always with relief that one turns from the giddy whirl of the public arena, where men buzz and wheel along with the world and often outstrip it, to the firesides of the contestants where they become but men surrounded by their wives and children.

The domestic life of our subject was truly beautiful. He was devoted to his wife and warmly attached to the children of her first marriage, for whom he ever evinced the deepest interest. In every letter written by him to his wife he expressed concern for their loss of time from their books, and for the delicate health of "poor Jack;" and showed a lively relish for all their amusements. But this happy circle was soon broken. In 1788 Frances Bland Tucker died at the early age of thirty-six, leaving, besides her three Randolph boys, five little ones of her second marriage. She is buried at Matoax, a large plantation near Petersburg, Va. Four years after the death of his first wife, Judge Tucker married Lelia Carter, a widow and a daughter of Sir Peyton Skipwith. The children of this union died in infancy; and Judge Tucker himself, after a useful life of seventy-six years, fell asleep in Warminster, Virginia, where he lies buried, Nov. 10th, 1828.

Henry St. George, the eldest son of St. George Tucker, was a member of Congress; President of the Court of Appeals of Virginia; and professor of law of the University of the same State. He was also the author of several works on law. The Hon. John Randolph Tucker, his son, and at present a member of Congress from Virginia, worthily sustains the two names that he has inherited.

Beverley, the youngest son, was United States Judge in the Territory of Missouri; and he afterward succeeded his father as professor of law in William and Mary College. He was the author of two works on law—*The Principles of Pleading* and *The Science of Government*, three novels, one of which, *The Partisan Leader*, created a considerable excitement; and he was for many years the main support of the *Southern Literary Messenger*. He also contributed largely to the *Southern Quarterly Review* during the editorship of William Gilmore Simms. Just before his death, in 1851, he began a life of his half-brother, John Randolph of Roanoke, for the purpose of refuting many statements made by Garland in his biography of this distinguished man, which had just been published. This work he severely reviewed in the *Southern Quarterly Review*, evincing as withering sarcasm upon his pen-point as his illustrious brother had let fall from his tongue; but death put an end to the greater undertaking, and the fragment of the "Life" which was completed has been hopelessly lost. Of all men in the world Beverley Tucker was the one who should have written the biography of John Randolph. He was closely allied to him by the ties of blood and sympathy, the orator's favorite brother, and the last person to whom the dying statesman clung. Wasted by disease, Randolph sent

out to Missouri, where Tucker was living, a letter, in which he said: "I have only strength to write three words, come to me." The summons was obeyed and the three weeks' journey was undertaken. The brothers remained at Roanoke awhile, and then traveled together as far as Washington, where they separated. Randolph went on to Philadelphia for the purpose of embarking for Europe, but death interposed; and Tucker began his weary homeward journey.

But this brief sketch begins to outrun its bounds. In it I have hurried along, stating facts in chronological order; and I cannot do better than close with the inscription taken from the monument erected to the memory of the man whose life we have thus followed to its end.

"Hic requiescit | Multo varioque perfunctus officio | ST. GEO. TUCKER | Bermudæ natus | ac vitate Virginiensi pro filio adoptatus | Libertate navanda | Miles acer atque animosus | Post libertatem receptam | Judex integer et servantissimus æque | Apud Collegium Gul. et Maræi, diu | Impiger L. L. Professor | Jurisperitus | Scriptis et commentariis notus | Doctus | Physica, literisque versatus | Denique Poeta, Camœnis non ingratus | In republica vigilans, studiosusque | In privita, amore proestans et præclarus, | In omni denique negotio probus ac fidelis: | In omni fortis atque constans | Hoc marmor posuerunt | Filii et nepotes et uxor dilecta superstes, | Benevolentiae ac beniquitatis memores. | Ejus eximia vita vir utibusque honestati, | Mortem quamvis seniorum, moerentes. | Nat. 10 Jul. 1752. Ob. 10 Nov. 1828. | Æt. sæu 76."

CHARLES W. COLEMAN, JR.





# SIEGE OF YORK AND GLOUCESTER VIRGINIA

*From the American Museum or Repository of  
Ancient and Modern Fugitive Pieces, etc.,  
for June, 1787. Philadelphia, 1787*

*September 15, 1781*—General Washington arrived at Williamsburg; received the Marquis de la Fayette's command and Count St. Simon's troops, which had arrived the 30th of August, with Count de Grasse, and landed at James-town the 3d instant.

*September 21*—First division of the northern army arrived in James's river. The 23d and 24th, almost the whole got in, and landed. The 27th, the whole army moved, and encamped in a line, three quarters of a mile advanced off Williamsburg, distant from Yorktown eleven miles.

*September 28*—The whole moved at daylight: after two halts, arrived within a mile and a half of the enemy's works; displayed and lay on our arms all night. Beaver-pond creek and morass in our front, over which bridges were built that night; and general Muhlenbergh's brigade of light infantry formed a picquet in advance.

*September 29*—About sun-rise moved to within three quarters of a mile of the enemy's out-works, and displayed in two lines a ravine in front to view our ground; advanced small parties in front to cover our reconnoitering parties. At four P. M. moved to our ground on the right, and encamped within range of the enemy's artillery in two lines: advanced a line of picquets in front, and increased our camp guards.

*September 30*—The enemy fearing we should turn their left, and get between their out-works and the town, abandoned the whole of them, and retired to town a little before day-light, leaving a few light horse to protect their rear. Colonel Scammel, being officer of the day, advanced to reconnoitre, and report accordingly, when he was intercepted, wounded, and taken, by a few light horse, who had lain concealed. [He died of his wounds in six days.] Both lines were put in motion, and advanced with caution towards their works, suspecting some feint of the enemy. Lay on our arms all that night. The light infantry remained on the ground, as a covering party to the fatigued men, busied in erecting a chain of redoubts to guard our camp and cover our working parties, who were occupied in procuring materials for the siege.

The light infantry relieved by Wayne's division this evening. The redoubts completed this night, and filled with a proper number of troops.

*October 1 to 6*—Employed in preparing materials, getting up our artillery, &c. At six o'clock moved on the ground, and opened our first parallel, about six hundred yards from the enemy's works, under cover by daylight. No accident. Continued working till morning.

*October 7*—The light troops entered in line reversed, with drums beating and colours flying; planted their standards on the top of the line of parallel; continued working on the batteries, which were completed about five o'clock.

*October 9 P. M.*—the enemy received the first shot from us, which was continued with spirit from cannon and mor-

tars. The enemy's fire slackened. Several of their guns were dismounted; and they were obliged to fill up their entrenchments.

*October 10*—Light infantry mounted; and the Charon of 44, and two smaller vessels, were burned by some hot shot from the left of the line, commanded by Count St. Simon. This happened about eight o'clock in the evening, the weather being serene and calm, and afforded an awful and melancholy sight. The Charon was on fire from the water's edge to her truck at the same time. I never saw anything so magnificent.

*October 11*—In the evening the second parallel opened by B. Steuben's division. This parallel was carried on with amazing rapidity, at 360 yards distance from the enemy's batteries, under a very heavy fire, the enemy's shot and shells directed at the workmen; our shot and shell going over our heads in a continual blaze the whole night. The fight was beautifully tremendous. We lost but one man, shot by our own men, the gun not being sufficiently elevated, or being fired with a bad carriage.

*October 12, 13 and 14*—Continued completing the batteries of the second parallel, and wounding their abattis and frieze-works with our shot and shells. About two o'clock P. M. the out-defences of two redoubts, that were advanced on their left 250 yards in their front, were thought sufficiently weakened to attempt them that evening by storm. The light infantry were relieved, and directed to refresh themselves with dinner and a nap. About dusk they moved on, under the marquis, and were in possession of one in nine minutes. The

other was carried by the French grenadiers and light infantry, under baron Viomenil, nearly about the same time, when the second parallel was continued on, and enveloped these two redoubts, and finished a line of communication between the rights of the first and second parallel of upwards of a mile before daylight next morning. The whole of this was performed under a very incessant and heavy fire from the enemy, with amazing steadiness and expedition.

*October 15*—Employed in repairing the redoubts, and erecting batteries, now within reach of the enemy's grape, rifle and wall-pieces.

*October 16*—This night a timid, ill-conducted sortie was attempted under lieutenant-colonel Abercrombie, with about six hundred men. They entered the parallel about the centre, nearly between the French and American troops, at a battery erecting by the Americans, not completed. They killed a serjeant and two privates of captain Savage's company of artillery: spiked six guns with the end of their bayonets, which they broke off in the vent-holes; turned about, and went off with the greatest precipitation. In their retreat they were pursued, and lost twelve men—six killed, four wounded, two taken; the light infantry in the trenches. Lord Cornwallis, in his account of the matter, says our loss was upwards of one hundred.

*October 17*—Light infantry still in the trenches. Between ten and eleven A. M. chamade beat, and propositions for surrender sent out by his lordship: received by the marquis, and forwarded to head-quarters. Cessation of firing about twenty minutes, till flag had re-

turned within their works. On our resuming the fire a second *chamade* beat: and the officer returning was told that the answer, as soon as received from head-quarters, would be forwarded. The firing on both sides re-commenced, and went on as usual, only small intermissions, during the passage of two or three letters from each side. Light infantry relieved by the baron Steuben's division: and the business being concluded that evening, the firing ceased about five o'clock, P. M. The 18th and part of the 19th taken up in adjusting matters, viz., articles of capitulation, public letters, &c.

*October 19 P. M.*—They marched out and laid down their arms. The whole of the king's troops, including sailors and marines, amounted to 8054, officers included.

Thus ended this business, in nine days from our breaking ground.

The whole of our strength, including every person that drew provisions by the commissary-general's return, amounted to 12,200. Our loss was 324 killed, wounded, and died in the hospital: sick in the hospital about 600; unfit for duty 830. So that when the necessary detail of the whole army was completed, his lordship was never opposed by more than equal number. Very frequently, from our great fatigue, parties at a considerable distance from the camp, and trenches two miles, had he come out to us, we could have opposed him with but very few more than two thirds of his number. This, I believe, will be allowed by any officer of discernment, who was acquainted with the details of the victorious combined army.

## OPERATIONS

### OF ROCHAMBEAU'S CORPS

SUBSTANCE OF A FRENCH JOURNAL

[BY ROCHAMBEAU]

*From the Supplement to the French Gazette of November 20, 1781.*

VERSAILLES, November 19.—The duke de Lauzun, colonel of the legion of his name, and the sieur Duplessis Paseau, captain of a ship arrived here this day, charged with dispatches to the king, with an account of a naval engagement on the 5th of September, and to inform his majesty that the army of Lord Cornwallis, consisting of 6,000 men, which had retired and entrenched themselves in Yorktown, on the river of that name, in Virginia, capitulated on the 19th of October last, and surrendered prisoners of war.

Substance of a journal of the operations of a French corps, under the command of Count de Rochambeau, Lieutenant General of the king's armies, since the 25th of August last.

On the 14th of September, General Washington, myself\* and the Chevalier de Châtelux, arrived at Williamsburg, where we found the Marquis de la Fayette, in conjunction with the Count de St. Simon, who had taken an excellent position, waiting for us.

Lord Cornwallis was employed in entrenching himself at York and Gloucester, barring the river of York with some of his ships, and others sunk in the channel. It is computed that his corps of troops, regulars and sailors from the disarmed ships amounted to about 5,000 or 6,000 men.

After all the most inquieting news we

had received in the route, of the appearance of the enemy's fleet, the departure of that of Count de Grasse, of an engagement on the 5th of September, the appearance of two English frigates in the bay, we at length received, in the night of the 14th, by a letter from the Count de Grasse, a circumstantial account of the following facts:

Admiral Hood had joined on the 28th of August Admiral Graves's squadron before New York. They both sailed the 31st to Chesapeake Bay, at the instant our movement by land towards Philadelphia had been discovered.

The English squadron, consisting of 20 ships, arrived the 5th at Cape Charles, intending to get the start of Count de Grasse. The latter then having 1,500 men in his chaloups, which had debarked the troops of Count de St. Simon, and were not yet returned, without hesitation, cut his cables, and went to engage the enemy with 24 ships, leaving the rest to blockade Lord Cornwallis in the rivers York and James. Admiral Graves bore to the windward, and the van guard of Count de Grasse, under the orders of Sieur de Bougainville, came up with the rear of the English, which was roughly handled.

The Count de Grasse having pursued some time, returned the 11th into the bay, where he found the squadron of Count de Barras, which sailed the 25th of August from Newport, with ten transports, having on board our siege artillery, and entered the bay on the 10th of September in good condition.

The two English frigates being between the two squadrons, were taken.

Immediately the ten transports of the

Count de Barras, the frigates, and the prizes of Count de Grasse, were dispatched to carry our troops to Annapolis, under the orders of the Sieur de Villebrunne, commander of the Romulus, who, with the Baron de Viomenil, used such expedition, that they arrived on the 25th in Williamsburg Creek, where they disembarked the army on the 26th and 27th.

On the 20th, the allied army marched from Williamsburg at break of day for Yorktown, and the French corps of 7,000 men began the investment from the head of York river to the morass near Colonel Nelson's house, taking advantage of the woods, creeks, &c., in such a manner as to block up the enemy within pistol shot of their works. The three French brigades marked out the ground, and encamped securely from the enemy's cannon. The Baron de Viomenil commanded the grenadiers and chasseurs of the army as the van-guard.

On the 29th the American army passed the morass, and the investment of Yorktown became complete, and was quite blocked up.

The infantry of Lauzun being debarked on the 23d, marched under the Duke de Lauzun to join their cavalry, which had marched by land into Gloucester County, under Brigadier General Wieden, who commanded there a body of 1,200 American militia. The whole legion was joined there on the 28th, the day of the investment of Yorktown.

On the night between the 29th and 30th, the enemy fearing to be insulated in the confined position which they had fortified, abandoned all their out works.

We employed the 30th in lodging our-

selves in the abandoned works, which enabled us to block up the enemy in a circle of very little extent, and gave us great advantages.

The same day the transports, with the artillery for the siege, came down to Trubello landing, seven miles from hence, when we set about disembarking it.

On the 3d of October, the *Sieur de Choisy* marched to block up Gloucester, and take a position at three miles distance from that place.

The corps of the *Sieur de Choisy* was composed of the Legion of Lauzun, of his infantry, drafted from the ships, and of 1,200 American militia under Brigadier General Wieden.

Tarleton was with six hundred men in this post, four hundred of which were horse, and two hundred infantry. The Duke de Lauzun attacked him so vigorously, that, notwithstanding the fire of his artillery, he threw them into disorder, wounded Tarleton, and forced the detachment to return to Gloucester, with the loss of fifty men. The *Sieur Billy Dillon*, and Dutre, second captain, were wounded; three hussars were killed, and eleven wounded.

The entrenchments were opened in two attacks, above and below York river, in the night, between the 6th and 7th of October, and different engagements took place till the 17th, when the enemy began to come to a parley.

The capitulation was signed on the 19th, in the morning, by which Lord Cornwallis and his whole army were made prisoners of war. The American and French troops took possession of the redoubts at noon.

The garrison of Yorktown filed off at two o'clock, by beat of drum, with their arms, which were then piled up, with 20 pair of colors. The same took place at Gloucester.

The companies of grenadiers of Bourbonnois and the Americans are in the redoubts, and the enemy's troops will evacuate it to-morrow, and be conducted to the interior parts of the country.

The Viscount de Noailles and Colonel Laurens have drawn up the articles of capitulation, in conjunction with two superior officers of Lord Cornwallis's army.

It is supposed there are about 6,000 or 7,000 prisoners, and about 170 pieces of cannon taken.—[*From the Pennsylvania Packet, Feb. 21, 1782.*]

\*The word "myself" shows the writer of the journal to have been Rochambeau. He rode from Mt. Vernon, with Washington and de Chastellux, to Lafayette's camp. EDITOR

## NOTES

THE AMERICAN HEADQUARTERS AT BEMIS' HEIGHTS AND STILLWATER—Morgan and Poor were quartered at Neilson's. This house, now occupied by George Neilson, stands upon the summit of the hill, on the east side of the road leading from the heights to Quaker Springs, and a little north of the road running westward to Saratoga. It is a long, low, unpainted farm-house, and consists of two portions, of which the part furthest from the road is the original house. The larger part is more modern. It was to this house that Major Ackland was brought when wounded.

Gates' headquarters, the E. Woodworth house, has been gone for many



years. Its site may be seen in a field to the south of the bend in the road a few rods below the Neilson house. Its deep well, covered over with a few boards, is still there beneath a tree in the lot. Near the house stood a barn, which was used as a hospital. From the road near Neilson's house, looking southward, the eye takes in the site of Gates' headquarters, and looking northward, the entire battle ground of the 19th of September.

The house of Dirck Swart, where Schuyler was quartered at Stillwater, is still standing in the upper part of the village, a few yards east of the turnpike. It has, however, been changed from its original condition.

CHARLES A. CAMPBELL

SARAH OR MEHETABEL—Who of us would hesitate in these days between these two names for a child? But no less a worthy than Edmund Sewall, Chief-Justice of Massachusetts, had grave doubts as to which he should give to his daughter, born in 1694. "I named my little daughter Sarah. Mr. Willard baptised her. Mr. Torrey said "call her Sarah, and make a Madam of her" [Sarah in Hebrew means Princess]. I was struggling whether to call her Sarah or Mehetabel; but when I saw Sarah's standing in the Scriptures, viz.: Peter, Galatians, Hebrews, Romans, I resolved on that side."

NEW ENGLAND

THE ONEIDA STONE—I have in my possession a cutting of a newspaper, as follows:

"*Aboriginal Palladium*—At the monthly meeting of the National Institute, on the 18th of June, a brief memoir was

read by Mr. Schoolcraft on the Oneida Stone, a curious and unique monument of the nationality of the Oneida Tribe in western New York. The stone, of which Mr. S. preserved a specimen, has imparted a name to the tribe, who call themselves the People of the Stone. Mr. S. describes it as a boulder of sienite, of the drift stratum, and traces its origin to the primary beds in the north-eastern mountain ranges of that State. But interest arises from the ancient and intimate connection which this extraneous mass of rock has with the tribal origin and liberties of this celebrated member of the Iroquois Confederacy.

Its palladic value furnishes, indeed, a curious coincidence of thought, with a well known fact in Grecian History."

Utica

C. W. HUTCHINSON

LACROSSE—This game is first mentioned in 1608, "Le Jeu de Crosse, in the Relation of 1636 [Relations des Jésuites], by Father Le Jeune. Charlevoix refers to it many years later. A public game at Lacrosse was played in September, 1834, on a race course situated on the Lower Lachine Road, before a large concourse of citizens of Montreal. The players were all Caughnawaga Indians. The first game, between white players only, occurred in 1839 at Montreal, in which the parties were the Montreal Club and the Hochelaga Club. Mr. Alexander Henry, author of a Narrative of travels among the Western Indians, and who was an eye witness of the fearful massacre at Fort Michilimakinak in 1763, by Indians connected with the conspiracy devised by the celebrated Pontiac, calls it "Baggahway,"



explaining that by the Canadians it is named "*Le jeu de la Crosse*."—*One Hundred Prize Questions in Canadian History*. Montreal, 1880. EDITOR

### QUERIES

SCHOOLCRAFT'S LECTURE ON THE ONEIDA STONE—The Oneida stone was deposited in our Forest Hill Cemetery in this city in the year 1850 with appropriate ceremonies, some 150 of the Oneidas and Onandaga Indians being present. Any matters pertaining to its history and traditions is of both local and historical importance to our citizens.

I have for some time endeavored to obtain either the manuscript of Mr. Schoolcraft or the published matter of the lecture. Perhaps some of your readers may be able to throw some light upon the proceedings of the Nat. Institute at Washington about the year 1850, when the address was delivered, or to tell where full reports of their meetings could be found.

Both the Oneida Historical Society and myself would be under obligations for any information upon the subject.

Utica

C. W. HUTCHINSON

JAMES WEEMES—I am desirous of ascertaining the ancestry, etc., of "James Weemes, of the City of New York, Esquire, Captain of one of his Majesties Independent Companies of New York," whose will is recorded in our Surrogate's office, page 385, Liber 9, dated 11th April, 1719, proved 10th May, 1723, and witnessed by Rip Van Dam, Teunis Van Woerd and May. Bickley. He

therein mentions his wife, whom he appoints executrix, and his only daughter and heir at law, Isabella, wife of John Outman.

It appears therefrom he was a resident of this city and owned property here, although no conveyance to him is found in our Register's office, and that at the date of the will he was in perfect health.

The only conveyances in our Register's office are the purchase, 3d August, 1725, by Elizabeth Weemes, widow of Colonel Weemes, of a house and lot corner of the Broadway, east side, and the New street, recorded 17th February, 1743, Liber 32, page 415; and the sale thereof by her 24th February, 1729, recorded 20th February, 1743, Liber 32, page 417.

Had he brothers and sisters; in what company was he captain or colonel; who was his wife and where did he come from?

ALEXANDER CAMPBELL

New York

GALATIN—I find this name thus spelled as one of the French officers who served at Yorktown, and were recommended to the king for promotion by Rochambeau. He was second lieutenant of the regiment of Gatinois, one of those which came up from the West Indies under the Marquis de Saint Simon in the fleet of De Grasse. He was engaged in the storming of the redoubt. Was he of kin to the Albert Gallatin family of Swiss origin? IULUS

GENERAL AMHERST—HIS KNIGHTHOOD—Governor Monckton, as royal proxy, invested General Amherst with

an order of knighthood on Staten Island. Some have said that it was the Order of the Garter. But was it? J. B. B.

MINETTA WATER—What was the original Indian name of "Minetta Water," one of the old water courses of the Ninth Ward of New York City?

J. B. B.

SPRINGETTSBURY MANOR, PENN.—Where was "Springettsbury Manor" in Southern Pennsylvania? J. B. B.

PORTRAIT OF GENERAL MONCKTON—In the Governor's room of the City Hall, New York, there is a small painting of General Monckton, royal Governor of New York about 1761. Who was the artist and what is the history of the picture? J. B. B.

COVERLY AND HODGE'S HISTORY OF THE REVOLUTION—In the New York Packet and the American Advertiser, printed at Fishkill, N. Y., October 25, 1781, are proposals for printing by subscription "an impartial History of the War in America between Great Britain and the United States," to be published in monthly numbers, with portraits. The prospectus, nearly a column in length, is dated Boston, August 20, 1781, and is subscribed by Nath. Coverly and Robert Hodge. Was such history ever published? M. M. J.

Utica, N. Y.

RARE COLUMBIA COLLEGE TRACT—I desire to obtain the name of the author of the following rare tract, relating to the early history of the present Columbia College: "Some Thoughts on Educa-

tion; with Reasons for erecting a College in this Province, and fixing the same at the City of New York. To which is added a Scheme for employing Masters and Teachers in the mean Time; and also for raising and endowing an Edifice in an easy Manner. The whole concluding with a Poem, being a serious Address to the House of Representatives."

It was printed by James Parker, at New York, in 1752, and sold for one shilling.

COLLECTOR

DOES LIGHTNING STRIKE THE BEECH?—Doctor F. E. Beeton, in a letter dated Murfreesborough, July 19, 1824, states, "that in Tennessee it is considered almost an impossibility to be struck by lightning, if protection be sought under the branches of a beech tree. At any time when the heavens wear a nebulous garment, and the thunders roll above the Indians, they betake themselves to the nearest beech tree they can find, let their pursuit at the time of the storm be what it may. The sagacity of observation possessed by these children of nature has long since taught them, that under the beech they may rest, fearless of threatening danger and grumbling thunder. Other trees may be surrounded by these and shivered to splinters, while the beech remains entire and unhurt."

Will some of your readers kindly confirm the above statement in regard to the Indians? MINTO

# REPLIES

STATUE TO WILLIAM PITT—[VI. 222, VII. 67] After the repeal of the Stamp Act in 1766, the Legislature of South

Carolina voted a statue of Pitt in commemoration of his services in effecting that repeal. It was erected at the intersection of Broad and Meeting streets, Charleston. Like the one erected in New York at about the same time, it was pedestrian. During the siege of Charleston in 1780 a small cannon ball from a British gun, upon what was called the "Water-Melon" battery, on James Island, passed up Meeting street and broke off the left arm of the statue. Being mutilated, the statue was regarded as an obstruction in the two thoroughfares, and the City Council ordered it to be removed, without making any provision for its preservation or its erection elsewhere. The workmen employed to remove it took no care to preserve it. When it was dragged from its pedestal and fell to the ground, its head was broken off, but the head itself was not marred. That operation occurred about 1793, during the "Reign of Terror" in France, and the crowd who saw it fall cried out: "Old Pitt is guillotined!" The fragments were stowed away by some one more thoughtful than the rest, and so it remained for many years. Finally the Commissioners of the Orphan Home at Charleston had these remains collected and the statue restored, excepting the shattered arm, as nearly as possible, and placed it upon a handsome pedestal of brown freestone. Judge Grimke, of Charleston, had preserved the marble tablet bearing the inscription, and this was inserted in the new pedestal, with a border of dark slate around it. I saw and made a sketch of the statue in front of the Orphan Home in April, 1866, and

copied the inscription, which is as follows:

IN GRATEFUL MEMORY  
OF HIS SERVICES TO HIS COUNTRY IN GENERAL  
AND TO AMERICA IN PARTICULAR,  
THE COMMONS HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY  
OF SOUTH CAROLINA  
UNANIMOUSLY VOTED  
THIS STATUE  
OF THE RIGHT HONORABLE WILLIAM PITT ESQ.,  
WHO GLORIOUSLY EXERTED HIMSELF  
IN DEFENDING THE FREEDOM OF AMERICA  
THE TRUE SONS OF ENGLAND,  
BY PROMOTING A REPEAL  
OF THE STAMP ACT  
IN THE YEAR 1766.  
TIME SHALL SOONER DESTROY  
THIS MARK OF THEIR ESTEEM  
THAN  
ERASE FROM THEIR MINDS  
THE JUST SENSE  
OF HIS PATRIOTIC VIRTUE.

As the statue was not injured by the ravages of the Civil War, I presume it is still in the place where I saw it in 1866, just one hundred years after the repeal of the Stamp Act.

BENSON J. LOSSING

### *The Ridge*

RUFUS PUTNAM'S DIARY—[VI. 220.] The diary kept by Rufus Putnam in 1772-3, when he went as one of a commission to explore lands in the lower Mississippi valley, is in the library of Marietta College. It begins Dec. 10, 1772, and ends August 13, 1773.

I. W. ANDREWS

### *Marietta College*

THE NELSON HOUSE—(VII. 56) The set of china used in the entertainment of Lafayette on his visit to Yorktown in 1824, is now in the possession of Mrs. Lucy N. Howard, née Nelson, a granddaughter of General Thomas Nelson, Jr., of Yorktown, Virginia.

Richmond

R. A. B.

## EDITOR'S CHRONICLE

The condition of the President, notwithstanding the dangerous stages traversed, has steadily improved, until, as these lines go to press, he is pronounced to be out of danger. The country awaits with impatience his complete restoration, that they may express their delight and gratitude for his remarkable escape.

The subscriptions to the fund for the family of the President, which originated with the Chamber of Commerce of New York, have reached the sum of one hundred and fifty thousand dollars, and are still progressing. Unsolicited contributions have been received in sums of all denominations and from all parts of the country.

THE Historical Society of Galveston, Texas, held a meeting on the 31st May last, Hon. J. S. Sullivan in the chair. Numerous donations to the library and archaeological cabinet were reported, among the latter a curious pre-historic specimen, evidently a pagan idol found at an early day in Texas history in one of the cañons of Western Texas. The Society's collection of archaeological relics and geological specimens and prints having become extensive, steps were taken for their better arrangement, preservation, and display, and the Secretary was directed to order the annual assessment, the first since April, 1876. The meeting was on the tenth anniversary of the Society.

JOSEPH SABIN, the well known New York Bibliophile, died at his home in Brooklyn on the 5th of June. He was born in Yorkshire, England, in December, 1821. After receiving a common school education he was in 1835 apprenticed to learn the book binding business with Charles Richards, a bookseller, in whose store he met many of the notabilities of the kingdom. When the term of his indenture expired, in 1842, he set up for himself as a bookseller and auctioneer, and occupied his leisure hours in the preparation of catalogues. In 1844 he published the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England, with Scriptural proofs and references. In 1848 he came to America with his family, and entered the house of George P.

Appleton as a general assistant and salesman. In 1850 he secured an engagement with Cooley & Keese, book auctioneers, of which profession the last named was easily the Prince. In 1863 Sabin established a second-hand book store of the pattern Charles Lamb loved to frequent, continuing his business of preparing catalogues of libraries for sale.

His last appearance as an auctioneer was at the Brinley sale in New York in the spring of 1881. The most serious work of his life was a Dictionary of books relating to America from its discovery to the present time, which was begun in 1856. The first volume appeared in 1867. Twelve volumes were completed, bringing the catalogue down to the letter N, and embracing 52,224 titles, when death overtook him.

UNIVERSALLY known by all who love the French language, and universally regretted, Maximilian Paul Emil Littré, the celebrated French Philologist, died at Paris on the 2d June, 1881. He was distinguished in politics, in medical literature, and for his writings in the positive school of philosophy. But the indestructible monument to his fame is his Dictionary of the French language undertaken in 1844 and finished in 1872 in four huge quarto volumes, to which a supplement was published in 1877. No other similar work can bear comparison with it save the German dictionary by the Brothers Grimm, which is far inferior to it in completeness and arrangement. Mr. Littré ranked among the first scholars of Europe.

MINTHORNE TOMPKINS, a distinguished citizen of New York, died on the 5th June, 1881, at his residence in that city. He was a son of Daniel D. Tompkins, of Scarsdale, Westchester County, who was Governor of the State from 1807 to 1817, and afterwards Vice-President of the United States, a Democrat of the Jeffersonian school. Minthorne Tompkins was also born in Westchester County, was member of the N. Y. Assembly in 1833 and 1834, and afterwards State Senator. In 1852 he was a candidate for Governor against Horatio Seymour and Washington Hunt. Later Tompkins was prominent in the anti-slavery party. He for a long time resided at Stapleton,

Staten Island, and it was at his home that Lafayette passed the night of his arrival on his last visit to the United States in 1824.

HENRY STANBURY, ex-Attorney-General of the United States in the administration of President Johnson, died at New York City on the 25th June, 1881. He was born in New York in 1803. His family moved to Zanesville, Ohio, in 1814. He entered Washington College, Penn., soon after, and was graduated in 1819. He was admitted to the Ohio Bar in 1824, and began his practice at Lancaster. Later his chief law business was conducted at Cincinnati, when he was made President of the Bar Association, by which he was held in high esteem. He was an intimate friend of Ewing, Stanton and Thurman. His residence of late years has been near Covington, Kentucky.

AN American celebrity of world-wide fame died in New York on the 25th May, 1881. This was no less a man than Commodore George Washington Nutt. He was thirty-seven years of age, and three feet seven inches in height. He was born in Manchester, N. H., and made his first appearance in public at Barnum's Museum in 1860. He died of Bright's disease, leaving a wife whom he married three years since.

ALFRED BILLINGS STREET, the poet, and for many years the Librarian of the State of New York, died at his home in Albany on the 2d June. He was born in Poughkeepsie in 1801. His earliest poetic effusion was published in the New York Evening Post, when he was in his eleventh year. His first volume, the *Burning of Schenectady*, and other poems, was published in 1842. He was thoroughly original and American in his matter and manner, excelling in description of nature. His prose works include "The Council of Revision of the State of New York, with biographical sketches of its members and of the early courts of the State; Woods and Waters; The Indian Pass; A Digest of Taxation in the United States, and Forest Pictures in the Adirondacks."

THE Baltimore Sun reports the death, in that

city, of Mrs. Sibby Johnson, a colored woman, aged 102 years, at the Lee Street Home for aged colored men and women. She was employed for thirty-five years at the Maltby House. She had six fingers on each hand and six toes on each foot.

WE have received from Mrs. Ellen Hardin Walworth, a list of the historic points on the Saratoga battlefield proposed to be marked by the erection of tablets. The committee will visit the battle-ground at an early day to locate the various points, many of which have already been selected by distinguished Americans, and designated by them as places on which they will erect tablets at their personal expense.

1, British Line of Battle, October 7th, when first attacked by Morgan, Poor, and Learned; 2, Freeman's Cottage and the Soldier's Well, where the most bloody encounter took place in both battles; 3, Spot where Fraser fell; 4, Bridge in Fraser's camp which indicated the march of the British centre, September 19th; 5, Burgoyne's headquarters; 6, Balcarras redoubt; 7, Line of American redoubts; 8, Morgan's and Poor's headquarters; 9, Gates' headquarters and hospital; 10, Site of Bemus' Tavern; 11, American redoubts near the river; 12, Position of American Artillery on October 8th; 13, Faylor's House from which Madam Reidesel watched Fraser's funeral; 14, Spot where Fraser is buried; 15, Sword's House; 16, Point where Lady Ackland embarked; 17, Breyman's camp—flank defense and key to the British position, captured at sunset October 7th. Here Arnold was wounded.

THE quiet old town of Sterling, in Worcester County, Massachusetts, celebrated its first centennial anniversary with great glee on the 15th day of June, 1881. Sterling was originally a part of Lancaster, and for some time after its settlement was called Chocksett and Choxett. It is about twelve miles from Worcester, the county seat. Within its borders are two large lakes, East and West Waushacum, upon which the first naval contest in the inland waters of Massachusetts occurred, in 1676, between a band of settlers under Captain Henchman and the Indians. In 1743 the present town was known as the second parish of Lancaster. In 1744 a church was gathered there. April 25th, 1781, the General Court ordered its incorporation as a separate town. It took the name of Sterling in honor of Major-General Lord Stir-



ling, of the Continental Army. Dr. William F. Holcombe, of New York, was the orator of the day, and made an exceedingly happy address. Samuel Osgood, Esq., was the Master of Ceremonies. In the afternoon there was a grand dinner in a mammoth Yale tent. Toasts were replied to by Colonel T. W. Higginson, the Rev. A. P. Marvin, the Hon. C. G. Stevens, the Rev. G. M. Morse, the Hon. C. H. Merriam, William H. Earle, of Worcester, the Rev. E. A. Horton, the Rev. D. Fosdick, the Rev. H. P. Cutting, and Dr. Fred Sawyer. Poems were read by Mrs. Catherine Riley and Miss Harriet Boss, both of Sterling.

ON the 1st June the town of Natick, Massachusetts, celebrated the centenary of her incorporation. The day was glorious and the attendance large. The whole city was decorated. The ceremonies began with a grand military and civic procession. The Governor of the State, assisted by the Rev. J. B. Fairbanks, the President of the day, Assistant Adjutant-General Kingsbury, and the Hon. Henry B. Pierce reviewed the troops from beneath the shade of a thick-leaved maple, after which Governor Long addressed the school children, to whom the exercises of the day were especially dedicated. The life of Senator Wilson, the most distinguished of Natick's sons, was held up as a worthy example for imitation by the rising generation.

WEDNESDAY, June 24, the semi-centennial of the Alumni Association of Westbrook Seminary (Maine) was held in that town. An historical address was delivered by Hon. Israel Washburne, Jr. He gave an account of the influences which led to the establishment of a seminary to propagate the doctrine of the Unitarian movement which began in Massachusetts with Channing, Buckminster, and the Wares, but until 1831 had few adherents in Maine. It however soon drew to itself many of the ablest and foremost citizens of the new State. To-day the majority of the members of the Legislature belong to this "broad church," whose power is greatly due to the teachings of the Westbrook Seminary.

THE centennial anniversary of the first offering of mass in Connecticut was celebrated Sunday, June 26, 1881, with a series of services at the Roman Catholic Church of St. Peter, in Hartford, which stands near the spot where the rite was administered by the Chaplain of the Count de Rochambeau on the occasion of a halt of the French army at Hartford on its way to join Washington's camp at Phillipsburg, on the Hudson. The Chaplain on this occasion was the Abbé Robin, who was attached to one of the French regiments, and left at his death an interesting account of his experiences in America.

The commemoration consisted in four early masses, followed by a pontifical high mass, said by Bishop McMahon, and a sermon by the Rev. Father O'Gorman, of the Paulist Fathers of New York. In the evening Bishop Conroy, of Albany, officiated at Vespers, and an historical address was delivered by Father Felton, of East Boston, who was the first priest settled at Hartford. He stated that at the time of his first coming to Hartford there were forty-five hundred Catholics in Connecticut, and that in thirty-seven years their number increased to one hundred and seventy-five thousand. The Mayor of Hartford attended High Mass in the morning.

THE MASSACHUSETTS MEDICAL SOCIETY held its centennial meeting at Boston to general satisfaction. Dr. Samuel A. Green has compiled some of the antiquities of the Society, giving attention to the medical works of the colonial period. Dr. J. Collins Warren addressed the Society upon the organization and aims of medical societies of the several States, and upon international medical societies as well as that of his own State, and showed their necessity for the establishment of a standard for practicing physicians, and for the general protection of the community by positive and negative action.

THE long litigation over the Jumel estate has been brought to a close by a decree of Court ordering its partition and sale, the proceeds to be deposited in the United States Trust Company, to await the order of Court for distribution.



It consists of buildings in New York City, fourteen hundred lots near Kingsbridge, upon which stands the Roger Morris House, Washington's headquarters on Harlem Heights in 1776, and a tract of land in Saratoga county. Stephen Jumel owned the estate and left it to his widow, who was married to Aaron Burr. She died in 1865, and the property has been since in litigation.

THE Anneke Jans case, which has agitated a great many minds for a great many years, has been finally disposed of by the denial of the application of Rynear Van Geisen for letters of administration on the estate of Anneke Jans Bogardus, who died in Albany some two centuries ago, and the affirmation of the decree of the surrogate by the Court of Appeals, with costs to the applicant. This famous estate once included several hundred lots in New York City, since built upon, and of enormous aggregate value.

THE Saint Nicholas Society of New York held a meeting on the evening of the 2d June at Delmonico's; over fifty members were present. Amendments to the constitution to increase the membership from five to six hundred, to increase the initiation fees and annual dues, and the cost of life-membership, was defeated. A supper closed the discussion.

THE DUKE OF SUTHERLAND on his recent trip to the Far West presented to Land Commissioner J. H. Drake, of the Sioux City Road, in acknowledgment for his hospitality, a gold blue-enameled scarf pin, representing the garter with the well-known motto, "Honi soit qui mal y pense." In the circle is the letter S, and surmounting it the ducal crown. The St. Paul, Minnesota, Dispatch describes this pin as "unique and beautiful," but adds "there are only thirty-five of the kind in England"—each unique we suppose.

COMMANDANT BROTHERTON sends word from Fort Buford, Dakota, under date of May 20th, 1881, that on that day the steamers Far West and Sherman left the port with 1149 Indians, late prisoners of war, for Standing Rock. The

Indians accepted the situation cheerfully, Crow King being the first to pull down his lodge and lead the movement. Running Antelope, who exercises a wonderful power over his people, was largely instrumental in overcoming their antipathy to Standing Rock. A daughter of Sitting Bull has come in. Sixty lodges are reported as still at Woody Mountain, and thirty at Lake Qu'appelle with Sitting Bull.

THE Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company celebrated its two hundred and fifty-third anniversary on Election Day with great spirit, the usual shower not being present on the occasion. They were received at the State House by Governor Long, and then proceeded to the Hollis Street church, where the sermon was delivered by the Rev. Robert Collyer. At its close they marched back to their armory in Faneuil Hall, where they dined.

THE first meeting of the directors of the Bunker Hill Monument Association for 1881-2 was held at the house of the President, the Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, Brookline, Mass., on Saturday, the 25th June. The standing committee for the ensuing year was appointed. On motion of the Hon. G. Washington Warren the following resolution was adopted:

That the directors on behalf of the Bunker Hill Monument Association which has accepted from a number of patriotic subscribers the statue of Colonel William Prescott, desire to express to Mr. Story, the renowned sculptor, their high appreciation of it as a work of art, felicitous in its design and execution, and appropriate to Bunker Hill and its brave commander; and they do cordially congratulate him upon the eminent success he has achieved, and thank him for the special pains he took in prosecuting a work from the interest he had in its subject as an American and the son of a former officer and early friend of the association.

Acknowledgment was placed on record of the services of civil and military associations, corporations and individuals, at the inauguration of the statue on Bunker Hill. A letter was read from the Hon. Edward F. Noyes, late American Minister at Paris, enclosing an interesting letter to Mr. Winthrop from Edmond de Lafayette, the last of the name.

THE Trustees of the Saratoga Monument Association held a special meeting on the 28th

June at the Delavan House, Albany, Hon. James M. Marvin in the chair. Mrs. Ellen Hardin Walworth, chairman of the committee on historical tablets, reported that the ground would be visited and the sites located the first week in July. Additional subscriptions were reported from Senator Wagner and Hon. Giles M. Slocum, now of Michigan, but formerly of old Saratoga. George S. Schuyler and Parker Handy, of New York, were elected trustees. P. C. Ford, O. S. Potter, and D. F. Ritchie, were appointed a committee to purchase the land on which the foundation of the monument will be laid. A resolution was adopted requesting Senator Wagner and Assemblymen Husted and Potter to urge on the Legislature to authorize the Governor to extend the courtesies of the State to the representatives of the French Government, the family of Lafayette, and the descendants of the French officers who served at Yorktown who may visit the United States to attend the centennial of the surrender of Cornwallis. The meeting then adjourned to the second Tuesday in August at the United States Hotel, Saratoga Springs.

THE statue of Robert Fulton, which is to be placed by Pennsylvania in the House of Representatives at Washington will be made by Howard Roberts, of Philadelphia. It represents Fulton in the dress and with the surroundings of a workingman, studying a mechanical model, which is held in the right hand. The second subject selected by Pennsylvania is Rev. (General) Muhlenberg. The sculptor is Miss Blanche Nevis, of Lancaster.

THE association formed to erect a monument to Abraham Lincoln, at Springfield, Illinois, met on Thursday, the 19th May, 1881, in that city. It has already sufficient funds on hand to pay for the two groups which are being cast on the models of Mr. Larkins G. Meade, the sculptor, now in Florence, Italy. A letter has been received from him proposing three additional figures of colossal proportions for the monument. These figures represent Freedom, Justice and Peace, to be placed on the same elevation with the statue of Lincoln, on the remaining sides of

the shaft. Sufficient funds are expected from the liberal citizens of the State, and it is further proposed to place in Memorial Hall a bronze or marble tablet inscribed with the names of the donors who meet the expense of these figures.

THE survivors of Perry's Brigade of Florida Confederate troops propose to erect a monument to their dead comrades at Tallahassee, and the committee in charge will report at the next meeting of the survivors, to be held at Tallahassee on the 14th July, 1881. Considerable means have already been procured.

A STATUE of Abraham Lincoln is to be erected in Lincoln Park, the most Central Square in the city of Chicago, and also a bronze fountain in the same park. These ornaments were provided for by a bequest of the late Eli Bates, who died in June, 1881, at Chicago. Forty thousand dollars were appropriated for the statue and fifteen thousand for the fountain. As soon as the arrangements are completed by the committee in charge they will be made public, and competitive designs will be called for.

ON the 19th May the memorial monument to the late George B. Armstrong, organizer of the United States Postal Railroad Service, was unveiled in the presence of over five thousand spectators. Postmaster Frank W. Palmer reviewed the life and work of Mr. Armstrong, and an oration was delivered by ex-Vice-President Schuyler Colfax. The monument was unveiled by Leonard W. Volk, the sculptor. It consists of a bronze bust of Mr. Armstrong, of heroic size, surmounting a granite pedestal three and one-half feet high, and two feet square, with a base three feet square and one and one-half feet thick, on a sub-base four feet square and a foot thick, and stands facing the corner of Clark and Adams streets, on the government grounds surrounding the new Post-office and Custom House. The inscription reads: "To the memory of George Buchanan Armstrong, founder of the Railway Mail Service in the United States. Born in Armagh, Ireland, Oct. 27, A. D. 1822: died in Chicago, May 5, A. D. 1871. Erected by the Clerks in the Service, 1881."

(Publishers of Historical Works wishing Notices, will address the Editor, with Copies, Box 37, Station D—N. Y. Post Office.)

**A SHORT HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH COLONIES IN AMERICA.** By HENRY CABOT LODGE. 8vo, pp. 560. HARPER & BROTHERS, New York, 1881.

The first germ of a national spirit in the thirteen original American colonies was developed at the meeting of the delegates at New York in the Stamp Act Congress of 1765. The letters of this period which have come down to us show how little the inhabitants of the different sections knew of each other. Each and all of them had some trade with each other, but the modes of communication were simple and the distances too great to admit of any community of individual interest, or any general personal acquaintance. Mr. Lodge selects this period as the limit of his history of the Colonies, and after a recital drawn from acknowledged sources of the progress of the Colonies up to that period, presents a picture of each as he considers them then to have been. The field is a broad one, and he seems to have shrunk from any general presentation, confining himself to the simpler and easier plan of treating each in detail in monographic form. There are occasional comparisons of the social and economic conditions of the widely differing sections, but, as a whole, the social history of the Colonies yet remains to be written. Each Colony has its separate treatment in one or more chapters, after which are general chapters on New England as a group in 1765; the preparation for revolution; the war for independence; and the peace of 1782.

Fault has been found with the author because he has not chosen to enter the field of original investigation, at least in these pages, as to the date of the earlier attempts at the colonization of the continent; but this is harsh judgment if it be borne in mind that his declared purpose is to present a picture of the Colonies at a typical period rather than a history of the political or other causes which led to the condition which he endeavors to portray. The fidelity of the picture alone is a fair subject of criticism. For his historic facts, where they are questionable, he supplies the authorities on which he relies. He only can give a fair judgment who is as familiar with the whole subject as Mr. Lodge shows himself to be, and probably there is none such. Those only who have made a thorough study of the history of any one colony can be safely trusted in their opinion upon the truth of the picture as it affects that component part of the general work. As far as New York is concerned, we venture to say that Mr. Lodge, first of the historiographers, has shown an apprecia-

tion of the characteristic traits which, as he justly says, "gave in colonial days a cosmopolitan tone to the community, which contrasts strongly with anything that can be found in the other provinces," a tone which it has retained with increasing strength until it has become one of the world centres, typical of the close brotherhood of man, which the wonderful inventions of the present century have made possible. This was due of course to the variety of races which met and mingled in her borders from the early days of European colonization. While neither to the northward or the southward was there any considerable mingling of foreign blood with the original English element, few of the citizens of New York could have been found at the close of the last century, in whose veins did not run the strains of several races. Again in his picture of Virginia, as she appears in 1765 and as she is to-day, Mr. Lodge justly finds far less change than in the other colonies. The towns of Virginia are to-day, to all outward aspect, colonial towns. The material change is far less than is found even in the towns and boroughs of Old England. Manners and habits have of course changed. Even in 1822 John Randolph, of Roanoke, could say with truth that the Virginians were a new people; but no such change as has come over the entire North since the beginning of the wonderful European exodus which first assumed vast proportions in 1848, (and which Everett justly described as exceeding the hordes which overrun Western Europe in the middle ages) has as yet reached the Southern States. In the compensations of life it is perhaps not to be regretted that the Southern States have preserved their thorough colonial type. They will bring to the cauldron, in which the elements of a new composite race are now seething at high temperature, the solid element of pure American blood. Finally relinquishing the idea that their peculiar autonomic characteristics can be retained either in race, habits, or policy, this important element in our population is fast grasping all the appliances of modern progress and entering into competition upon fields which, though not chosen willingly, will yet be heartily worked under the stimulus of the aspirations which are common to us all.

Of New England, Mr. Lodge writes knowingly. There also, in some aspects, there has not been great change. The general air of the New England village, away from the hum of railroads, has not greatly altered. The people are still, as they were, homogeneous in race and character. The ruggedness of the soil has hindered increase of population comparable to that

of more favored States. But the day of change has dawned for her also, and as her sons and daughters are tempted to more genial climes, where labor receives a more bountiful reward, the gap is filling fast with a new element which is bending her stern ways and changing the tone of her population also. But this is to draw a picture of America as it is, for which our justification is found in the fact that Mr. Lodge himself has not been able to escape wholly from the comparison which arises perforce to each thinking mind, between the American of the Colonial and the American of the Cosmopolitan period, of whom it is more easy to discover what manner of man he is than what he may be at the close even of the present century. The times change indeed, and we with them, to a degree unknown in any other race or people on the earth's surface.

**HISTORY OF AMESBURY, INCLUDING THE FIRST SEVENTEEN YEARS OF SALISBURY, TO THE SEPARATION IN 1654; AND MERRIMAC FROM ITS INCORPORATION IN 1876.** By JOSEPH MERRILL. 8vo, pp. 451. Press of FRANKLIN P. STILES. Haverhill. 1880. For sale by JOHN F. JOHNSON, Amesbury, Mass.

For a quarter of a century the author, who has had the custody of the town records and documents for forty years, has been pursuing his investigation of the progress and doings of the town, from the first few who crossed the Powow river to the present day. The table of contents supplies an analytic index, chronologically arranged, from 1637 to 1876, of all the chief incidents treated in the text; and the history is arranged in the same order. In the story of the early settlement of the Massachusetts coast by the Pilgrims, which was in great measure made by small independent companies who explored the country and made permanent residence on favorable spots, it will be found that little regard was paid to the territorial rights of the Indian inhabitants. But there were cases in which conscience prompted some compensation, as in that of Haverhill, where settlement was made in 1642, and the territory purchased of the Indian chiefs Passagus and Saggahen in 1642. The tribe of Naumkeaks owned the land now known as the county of Essex. Salem was first settled here in 1628; soon after which other plantations to the eastward; among which, within ten years, Ipswich, Newberry, Merrimac and Hampton. About 1638 the river was crossed and Merrimac begun. From Merrimac to the sea was the favorite haunt of the littoral tribes. At Salisbury, near the marsh, huge piles of clam shells attested, until recently, their occupation. The beautiful Powow river was another favorite resort of the migratory tribes who lived on the product

of the stream and the sea. On the hill overlooking the river was the coign of vantage of the primitive savage, whence their name of Powows or Powawus. During the colonial period the story of the settlement was similar to that of its neighbors. In 1775 Amesbury stood true to the patriotic cause, and sent her quota to the Cambridge camp, under Capt. John Currier, who enlisted his men by order of the Provincial Congress. The town provided sixty-nine coats, her proportion of the thirteen thousand called for to uniform the men. A prominent incident in the later history of Amesbury was the removal to it, in 1808, of John Greenleaf Whittier from his ancestral home in Haverhill. He made his home on Friend street, at the foot of Whitcher's Hill, and here has written the greater part of his popular poems—poems which have been a factor in the redemption of our common country from one of the greatest iniquities of history, for which it is but just to confess the men of the North and of the South are alike responsible. The want of an index, though partially atoned for by the careful chronological table of contents mentioned, is nevertheless to be regretted.

**THE CENTENNIAL CELEBRATION OF GENERAL SULLIVAN'S CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE IROQUOIS IN 1779, held at Waterloo, September 3d, 1879.** Prepared by DIEDRICH WILLERS, JR. To which is prefixed a sketch of the Waterloo Library and Historical Society, by REV. S. H. GRIDLEY, D. D. Published under the auspices of the WATERLOO LIBRARY AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY. 8vo, pp. 350. Waterloo, N. Y. 1880.

In February, 1879, the Waterloo Historical Society resolved to celebrate the centennial anniversary of Sullivan's campaign, and his march across the territory of Seneca county. This volume gives a full account of the interesting proceedings. The historical address delivered by the Rev. David Craft presents the most complete account of this memorable campaign which has yet appeared, and leaves nothing to be desired. It is a source of satisfaction that it is preserved in so excellent a form. The Waterloo Historical Society was organized in April, 1875, and incorporated in January of the following year, when a library foundation was bestowed upon it by Mr. Thomas Fantzinger, in the sum of five thousand dollars, which he later increased by bequest of a similar sum to ten thousand dollars. Three thousand volumes have been collected, and supply reading matter for the community. Twenty-five original papers on local history have been contributed to the society during the last five years, among which are noticeable, as of a

general character: *The March of Gen. Sullivan through Seneca county*, by S. R. Welles; *Border Land*, by W. H. Bogart; *Logan, the Mingo Chief*, by Fred. H. Furniss; *Indian Life and Character*, by John S. Clark; *Life and Adventures of Horatio Jones, Captain and Interpreter of the Seneca Indians*, by S. H. Gridley; *Rev. Samuel Kirkland, Missionary to the Six Nations*, by S. H. Gridley; *Red Jacket, the Seneca Orator*, by S. H. Gridley; all of which, we trust, may soon be printed by the Society.

THE CHANNING CENTENARY IN AMERICA, GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND. A Report of meetings held in honor of the One Hundredth Anniversary of the Birth of William Ellery Channing. Edited by RUSSELL NEVINS BELLOWES. 16mo, pp. 532. GEORGE H. ELLIS (Channing building). Boston, 1881.

Two Americans, the one who, though dead, yet speaketh, the other who still remains with us in the flesh, Channing and Emerson, are already acknowledged by the intellectual universe to have attained the rare rank of Seers—Seers in the true sense of the word, with an insight into the nature and order of things, and a prophetic outlook over the vast plane of human intelligence. The one has been called the Ideal American, the other may as truly be called the Real American. The range of our history may be searched in vain for better types of pure intelligence than these two men present in characters, almost the opposites, or it may be better said the complements of each other.

The Life of Channing has been admirably portrayed by his nephew, William H. Channing, a notice of which appeared in these pages, (V. 227.) Reminiscences of his teachings were related by Elizabeth Palmer Peabody, who sat lovingly at his feet (see Mag. V. 227) and an elaborate account of the Celebration of the One Hundredth Anniversary of his birthday was prepared by the skillful hand of the Rev. George E. Ellis (V. 229). In one of these notices attention was invited to the universality of Channing's fame, the widespread interest in his writings throughout the United States and wherever the English tongue is spoken, and to the exceptional fact that all denominations of worshippers of God united in the honor then paid to his memory as an Apostle of the Church Universal; the church which holds in its broad fold every lover of his kind.

This volume brings additional testimony to the truth of this then acknowledged fact. American Centenary Celebrations of Channing's birthday were held at Newport, Boston, Brooklyn, New York, Chicago, St. Louis, St. Paul, Mead-

ville, Washington, Ann Arbor, Madison, Cincinnati, San Francisco, Montreal, and a host of minor towns, at all of which the eminent of the clergy, the professions, and of men of literary culture, were quick to bring their separate tribute of homage to the pure minded "prophet of the soul;" the Teacher of the moral as distinct from the Preacher of religious code. The Press also gave voice to the general sentiment which pervaded the American mind. All of these have notice in the complete record before us, but we look with more interest upon the record which appears of the celebrations in Great Britain and Ireland, held at London, Liverpool, Manchester, Belfast and Aberdeen, where the late Dean of Westminster, dear to Americans for his broad human sympathies, Hopford, Brooke, Ernest Renan, James Martineau, Thomas Hughes and others of less familiar names, were not less ready, not less pronounced in their demonstration of regard. And to complete the long line of witnesses, Mr. Bellowes refers to the work of René Lavollée, crowned by the Academy of Moral and Political Sciences as the best essay on Channing's Life and work. "The greatest tribute of all," to use the words of the editor of the volume before us, "was that of the illustrious Von Bunsen, who said: 'Channing is an antique hero with a Christian heart. He is a man like a Hellene, a citizen like a Roman, a Christian like an Apostle. People take him for what he is not when they treat him as a learned and speculative theologian.'"

THE COMMEMORATION BY THE FIRST CHURCH IN BOSTON OF THE COMPLETION OF TWO HUNDRED AND FIFTY YEARS SINCE ITS FOUNDATION, on Thursday, November 18, 1880. Also Four Historical Sermons. With illustrations. Printed by order of the Society. 8vo, pp. 218. HALL & WHITING. Boston. 1881.

One of the earliest acts of the Colonists, on their arrival in New England, was the formation of a church. The covenant was signed on the 30th July, 1630, and was the beginning of the First church of Boston. The first meeting house was built in 1632, of mud walls with a thatched roof. It stood on State street on the site of the structure known as Brazer's Building. In 1639 a house was built on the site of the present Joy's Building in Washington street. In 1711 this meeting house was burned and rebuilt. In 1808 the Society removed to a new building on Chauncy street, and in 1868 to the beautiful church on Berkeley street, a fine view of which prefaces this memorial account.

The first of the Four Historical Sermons which follow the account of the preliminary pro-



ceedings at the commemoration, by the Rev. Rufus Ellis, begins by establishing the point that the 30th of July, old style, or the 9th of August, new style, and not the 18th of November, was the true birthday of the First church in Boston. On that day, 1630, John Winthrop, Thomas Dudley, Isaac Johnson and the Rev. John Wilson met at a spot on the north side of Charles River called Mishawam by the natives, and Charlestown by the white man. Here they prepared and subscribed the covenant of the church. Wilson, who had been chaplain to the Archbishop of Canterbury, Canon of Windsor, and Prebendary of Rochester, and had preached at Sudbury, in Suffolk, England, for several years, was the first pastor of the little congregation. John Cotton became its Teacher, immediately on his arrival, with the reputation of a Cambridge scholar, and his son, "Seaborn," was baptized into the congregation. The creed of the church was "experimental religion." The three sermons which follow bring down the history of the church to the present day.

Next in order in the volume comes the sermon preached to the First church on the close of the second century, 29th August, 1830, by N. L. Frothingham, which gives an account of the pastors from the beginning to that date: Wilson, Cotton, Norton, Davenport, Allen, Oxenbridge, Moody, Bailey, Wadsworth, Bridge, Chauncy, Clarke, Emerson, Abbot—"a solemn train." To these must be added the names of Frothingham and Ellis.

These admirable discourses are followed by an account of the commemorative services. The address fell to the competent hands of Dr. George E. Ellis, and is full of suggestive points. He notices the disappearance of the copies of the Book of Common Prayer, once in the possession of these exiled members of the Church of England—"as rare here as the holly or the mistletoe"—and the more significant absence of any of the phrases of the once beloved liturgy from the sermons and the letters of the Puritan divines, but in their place, the words and the usage of the primitive Christians, as found in the Acts and Epistles of the Apostles.

The Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, in his address, claimed for the ancestor he so worthily represented, the authorship of the covenant. Addresses were also made by Governor Long, Mayor Prince, President John Eliot of Harvard, President Noah Porter of Yale, the Rev. Grindall Reynolds, Phillips Brooks, the Chrysostomus of the American church, Professor Everett, the Hon. Robert S. Rantoul and the Rev. G. W. Briggs.

The volume is elegantly printed, and in every way worthy of the ancient theme. We are tempted to linger over its pages in the recollection that this was the faith which was held by

the "Lois and the Eunice" of the writer's forefathers, and that it was in this congregation that they, original Puritans, were taught the worship of God.

OUTLINES OF U. S. HISTORY. A HAND-BOOK OF READY REFERENCE FOR STUDENTS, GENERAL READERS AND TEACHERS. By R. HEBER HOLBROOK. 12mo, pp. 107. NORMAL TEACHERS' PUBLISHING HOUSE, J. E. Sherrill, Proprietor. Danville, Ind. 1880.\*

The purpose of this handy little volume is to help the reader of history to view particular events in their general relations. It appeals to the intelligence through the eye. Its contents are not to be memorized, but to be used currently as an aid to the memory. They are the result of practical experience in a teaching of ten years. Its use will surely fulfill the author's declared purpose in freeing the delightful study of history from the deadness of chronological memorizing. It has already stood the test of experience in manuscript form. We can best commend it by saying that it shall never be out of sight on the table of the Editor of this Magazine. It will save many a search for the precise details of facts which everybody knows generally, but which, nevertheless, are difficult to reach at a given moment.

MAGELLAN; OR, THE FIRST VOYAGE ROUND THE WORLD. By GEORGE M. TOWLE. 16mo, pp. 281. LEE & SHEPARD. Boston. C. T. DILLINGHAM, New York. 1880.

Fernan Magellan, whose adventurous life is treated in a familiar style in this volume, was a Portuguese of noble family, who at an early age entered the service of his king, and accompanied Albuquerque on an expedition to the east coast of Africa and to India. He returned to Portugal on account of a difference with his chief, and being harshly treated by King Manuel, transferred his allegiance to Charles of Spain, who afterward was the great Emperor Charles V. This monarch, appreciating the adventurous disposition of Magellan, gave him command of a fleet of four small ships, in which he set sail from Seville on the 20th of September, 1519, and on the 21st of October, 1520, passed through the Straits which bear his name, and entered the Ocean to which he gave the name of Pacific. He was killed at the island of Matan, one of the Philippines, in an encounter with the natives on the 7th of April, 1521, in the forty-first year of his age. But one of his vessels returned to Spain, being the first to circumnavigate the globe, and to discover that in sailing from east to west a day was apparently lost from the calendar.

W. C. S.



## REGISTER OF BOOKS RECEIVED

A SHORT HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH COLONIES IN AMERICA. By Henry Cabot Lodge. 8vo. Harper & Brothers, New York, 1881.

TRANSACTIONS OF THE LITERARY AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF QUEBEC. Sessions of 1880-1. 8vo. Printed at the Morning Chronicle Office. 1881.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF LYMAN C. DRAPER, LL.D., Secretary of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. By Prof. Rasmus B. Anderson. 8vo. Peter G. Thomson, Printer. Cincinnati, O., 1881.

LIFE AND LETTERS OF JOHN HOWARD RAYMOND. Edited by his eldest Daughter. 12mo. Fords, Howard & Hurlbert, New York, 1881.

RESOURCES OF SOUTH WEST VIRGINIA. Showing the Mineral deposits of Iron, Coal, Zinc, Copper, Lead, &c. By C. R. Boyd. 8vo. John Wiley & Sons, New York, 1881.

THE COMMEMORATION OF THE FIRST CHURCH IN BOSTON, of the completion of the Two Hundred and Fifty Years since its Foundation, on Thursday, March 18, 1880. Also, four Historical Sermons, with illustrations. 8vo. Hall & Whiting, Boston, 1881.

THE CAMPAIGN OF CHANCELLORSVILLE. By Theodore A. Dodge, United States Army. 8vo. James R. Osgood & Co., Boston, 1881.

BULLETIN OF BOOKS in the various departments of Literature and Science added to the Public Library of Cincinnati during the year 1880. Large 8vo. Published by the Board of Managers, Cincinnati, 1881.

PENNSYLVANIA IN THE WAR OF THE REVOLUTION. Battalions and Line 1775-1783. Edited by John Blair Lewis and William H. Egle, M. D. Vol. II. 8vo. Lane S. Hart, State Printer, Harrisburg, 1880.

HISTORY OF AMESBURY, including the first seventeen years of Salisbury to the separation in 1654, and Merrimac from its incorporation in 1876. By Joseph Merrill. 8vo. Press of Franklin P. Stiles, Haverhill, 1880.

THE LIVES OF EMINENT METHODIST MINISTERS, containing Biographical Sketches, Incidents, Anecdotes, Record of Travel, Reflections, &c. By Rev. P. Douglass Gorrie. 16mo. R. Worthington, New York, 1881.

THE CORRESPONDENCE OF PRINCE TALLEYRAND AND KING LOUIS XVIII., during the Congress of Vienna, &c. With a Preface, Observations and Notes. By M. G. Pallain. 12mo. Harper & Brothers, New York, 1881.

THE LIFE OF THE REV. JOHN WESLEY, with some account of his ancestors and relations; and the Life of the Rev. Charles Wesley. By John Whitehead. 12mo. R. Worthington, New York, 1881.

A BRIEF HISTORY OF ANCIENT PEOPLES, with an account of their Monuments, Literature and Manners. Barnes's One Term Series. 12mo. A. S. Barnes & Co., New York and Chicago, 1881.

HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH PEOPLE. By John Richard Green. 2 vols. 24mo. American Book Exchange, New York, 1881.

NEZ PERCE JOSEPH. An account of his ancestors, his lands, his confederates, his enemies, his murders, his wars, his pursuit and capture. By O. O. Howard, Brig. Gen. U. S. A. 16mo. Lee & Shepard, Boston, 1881.

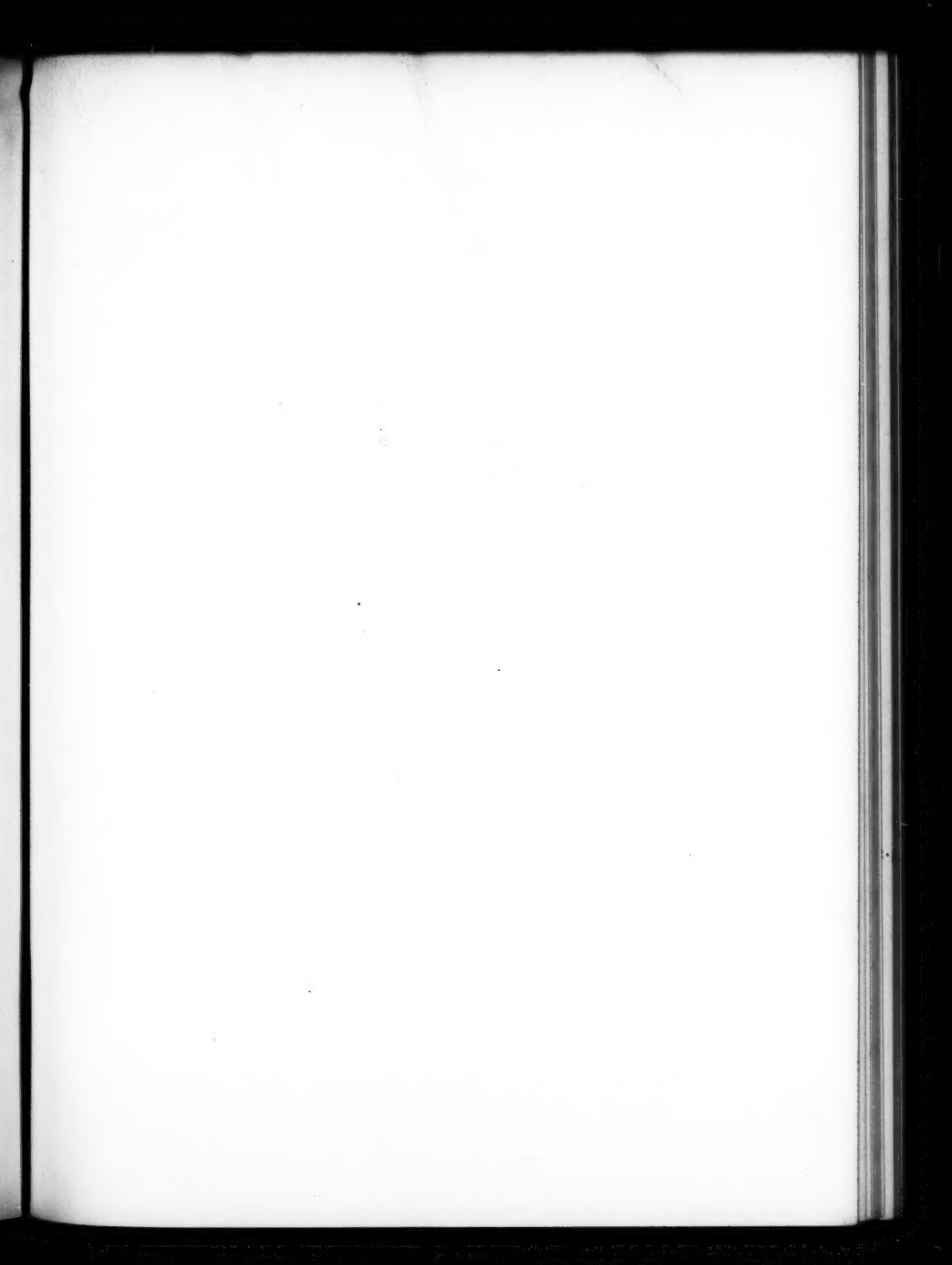
INDIAN NAMES OF PLACES, ETC., in and on the borders of Connecticut, with interpretations of some of them. By J. Hammond Trumbull. 8vo. Hartford, 1881.

PAPERS OF THE ARCHEOLOGICAL INSTITUTE OF AMERICA. American Series, I. 1, Historical Introduction and Studies among the Sedentary Indians of New Mexico. 2, Report on the Ruins of the Pueblo of Pecos. By A. F. Bandelier. 8vo. A. Williams & Co., Boston, 1881.

SOLDIERS AND SAILORS HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF RHODE ISLAND. Personal Narratives of Events in the War of the Rebellion. No. 9, Second Series. Personal Experiences of the Chancellorsville Campaign. By Horatio Rogers. Small 4to pamphlet. N. Bangs, Williams & Co., Providence, 1881.

RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL TRACTS, No. 12. The Medical School, formerly existing in Brown University, its Professors and Graduates. By Charles W. Parsons, M. D. Small 4to pamphlet. Sidney S. Rider, Providence R. I., 1881.

SOCIÉTÉ NORMANDE DE GÉOGRAPHIE. Bulletin de l'Année, 1881, Mars-Avril. 4to pamphlet, Imprimerie de Espérance; Cagniard, Rouen, 1881.





*J. E. Howard*

## MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY

VOL. VII

OCTOBER 1881

### THE CAMPAIGN OF THE ALLIES

#### THE SURRENDER OF LORD CHARLES CORNWALLIS

WE have little conception of the difficulties that surrounded Washington and his compatriots during the year and a half preceding the capture of Cornwallis. The resources of the country were well-nigh exhausted; many had been drawn to the battle-field and there perished, and so great a number still remained in the army that the mechanical industries of the people were nearly ruined; villages were more or less dilapidated, while innumerable farms were lying waste for the want of cultivation. The influence of the war overshadowed the whole land, blighting its progress, and interfering with the comfort and success of the people. The Continental money was next to worthless, and that issued by the separate States was even of less value. Distrust of the ultimate success of the struggle discouraged many of the people, yet there was a gleam of sunshine in the hearts of the hopeful few; their zeal never flagged, and their intelligence prompted them to make great personal sacrifices in the expectation of securing for their country liberty and independence for all future time.

Another impediment to the success of the patriots was the multitudes who sympathized with the royal cause, some no doubt from pure, and some from sinister motives. Among these disloyalists were many who were unwilling the Colonies should separate from England, which they characterized by the endearing name of "Home." They were proud of her glories in literature and arms, and claimed them as part of their own inheritance. Another class of the more unenlightened among the Tories were often disloyal from an indefinable reverence for the persons of the royal family, and of their shadow, the aristocracy. These clung to the cause of the king for the reason they were unable to comprehend the vast importance to themselves and their children of being separated from England and untrammelled by her restrictions and influence as a sovereign.